I. SEPTUAGINT

5404–8. Septuagint Codices

The fragments of ten leaves published here, representing five books, appear to have been found close together in Grenfell and Hunt's first season's excavations at Oxyrhynchus (1897): with the exception of some scraps of **5408**, all were packed in the same layer of the same tin box.[1] No leaf is preserved complete, but the written area seems to have been the same in each case, and it is reasonable to assume that the page size was also uniform. There is no way of telling how many codices are represented. Jeremiah started at the beginning of a codex, while the leaves of Numbers belong to a codex that appears to have begun in the middle of the book.

A page measured 18.7 × 35 cm²[2] and the written area about 13–14 × 26 cm. The text is copied in a single column. The margins in **5408** B appear to be preserved to their full extent. The lower margin there is about 5 cm deep and the upper margin about 4 cm deep. The right-hand page has an inner margin 2.7 cm wide and an outer margin 2.5 cm wide, while the left-hand page had an outer margin about 2.7 cm wide and an inner margin 1.7 cm wide. The dimensions are comparable to those of P. Bodmer XVII (Acts and Catholic Epistles, $\mathfrak{P}^{74}$), of the sixth or seventh century, which has a written area of 13–14 × 25–6 cm and a page size of 20 × 32 cm (K. Aland, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri* i (1976) 47). P. Chester Beatty VI (Numbers and Deuteronomy, Rahlfs 963), of the second/third century, has a similar page size (*c*. 19 × 33 cm), but it is a two-column codex. Cf. Turner, *Typology* 16 ('Aberrants' of Group 3).

Page-numbers and quire-signatures are preserved in **5404** and **5408**. Both codices appear to have been composed of quaternions. The quire-signature is written in the upper margin on the first page of the quire on the left, aligned with the left-hand edge of the written area and in letters of the same size as those of the text, with horizontal lines above and below. The page-number, slightly smaller, stands in the upper margin towards the outer edge. On the left-hand page, it is aligned with the left-hand edge of the written area, while on the right-hand page, it stands above the text near the right-hand margin. It has horizontal lines above and below when accompanying a quire-signature, and otherwise only a horizontal line above. For the arrangement, cf. Turner, *Typology* 77–8.

A strengthening strip 1.3 cm wide was stuck to the inner edge of the → side of **5406**, with its ↓ side showing. The edge of the leaf is mostly lost, but we may suppose that the whole of the fold was reinforced in this way. Similar strips, 1.9 cm wide, are stuck to the inner edge of **5405** B on both sides, in each case with the ↓ side showing. For such repairs, cf. e.g. LXXIV **4968** introd., p. 2.

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[1] The fragments now located at **5408** B→17–25 and ↓16–24 were not in box 88 together with the rest, but in box 79. It is unsurprising that some pieces were recovered separately: for example, LXXVII **5101** includes pieces from three third-season boxes (36, 38, and 41).

[2] Not '15.5 x 34.7 cm' (LXI **4094** introd.).

The text is copied in a large version of the Sloping Pointed Majuscule. The distance between the notional upper and lower lines is about 0.6–0.8 cm. The size of the letters and the page size may suggest that these texts were meant to be read from a lectern in a church. The lines of text run parallel to the cross-fibres rather than to the upper and lower edges: in **5404** A, the cross-fibres slope downwards from left to right on the → side, with the result that the lines of text slope downwards on the → side and upwards on the ↓ side. The execution is irregular. For example, **5408** B→12 begins with a μ with a curved left-hand side and a curved middle, while the μ at the start of the next line has a straight left-hand side and obliques meeting at a point. Lines 18 and 20 on the same page both begin with a y-shaped υ, but the examples of the letter in line 19 are both Y-shaped; the two forms may even be used in the same line, cf. **5404** C↓(a)2. There is some contrast between thick and thin strokes, but the scribe is far from consistent in this respect. For example, in **5408** B↓1 γεγονεν, the first and second ν both have an oblique thinner than the uprights, but that of the second ν is considerably thinner than that of the first. Thick strokes are similarly variable: the ν in the following line has a first upright noticeably thinner than the second. Decoration is often applied, notably at the ends of cross-bars, but by no means consistently: contrast e.g. the first τ of **5404** A↓23, decorated on either side, with the undecorated second τ of the line. κ generally has its arms slightly separated from its upright, but again, the scribe is inconsistent: contrast the first κ of **5408** A→6, whose arms touch the upright, with the second, where there is a clear gap. The slope is variable: for example, the penultimate ϲ of **5408** C→5 is virtually upright, while the last leans noticeably forward, and a similar contrast can be drawn between the first ϲ of line 2 and the ε that follows it.

There appear to be no good grounds for supposing that more than one hand is responsible for the five books represented. One might point, for example, to the form of μ found in **5406**, with curved sides and a curved middle, but a fairly similar form in **5408** has been mentioned above, and the damaged μ in **5406** ↓14 has an upright on the right. The ε of **5406** is often very narrow (e.g. in →2), but a broad form is also found (→11). The broad ψ with its arms forming a shallow V is shared by **5407** (→17, ↓16) and **5408** (C↓8).

Letters may be compressed or widened at line-end to adjust the length of a line: cf. **5404** C↓(c)6 (ϊϲχυ narrow), 8 (υ broad). At **5408** B→8 and ↓15, the uprights of τ and υ are written in narrow spaces with their broad upper parts above letter-top level to save space. ψ has its upright extended upwards at **5407** ↓16 to fill a space left blank at the end of the preceding line.

The hand may be assigned to the fifth or sixth century. Among datable examples, one may compare the similarly large hand of LXXVI **5074** (Cyril of Alexandria, *Festal Letter* 28, written for the year 440), which has been assigned to the fifth/sixth century: cf. P. Orsini, *Studies on Greek and Coptic Majuscule Scripts and Books* (2019) 147–8.[1] LXXXIII **5392**, of 582–90, is less close.

Nomina sacra, lection signs, punctuation, spelling, and corrections are discussed separately in relation to each of the texts. There is no indication anywhere that more than one

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[1] Orsini's dating of the composition is to be corrected: see P. Évieux et al., *Cyrille d'Alexandrie: Lettres Festales I–VI* (1991) 92–3.

hand has contributed. Rough breathings are used frequently in **5404** and **5408** but nowhere in **5406** and **5407**, while the absence of any clear examples of punctuation in **5406** distinguishes it from **5407** as well as **5404** and **5408**; there is also no clear evidence of breathings or punctuation in the very fragmentary **5405**. These differences may reflect differences between the exemplars used, but this is not the only possibility.

5404. Numbers xxii.33–40, xxiv.8–21

3 1B.88/G(2, 7, 3)   A: 16.5 × 35 cm   Fifth or sixth century
Rahlfs 000   Plates 000

Parts of three leaves. A line holds on average 14–15 letters. C↓ had 24 lines, and the other pages 23. Leaf C, giving pp. 47–8 of the codex, is the first of the fourth quire, and is immediately preceded by leaf B. Leaf A gives pp. 33–4. Each page of leaves A and C contains text corresponding to 21 lines of codex B (Vaticanus), and a reconstruction suggests that each page of the fragmentary leaf B will have contained about the same amount of text. The twelve pages between leaves A and C, including the fragmentary leaf B, correspond to 246 lines of codex B. Each of these pages will have held on average text corresponding to 20.5 lines of codex B.

The first three quires contained only 46 pages of text. If the codex was made up of quaternions, one leaf remains to be accounted for, and it is natural to suppose that the first leaf of the codex was blank or contained only the title: cf. **5408**. (Alternatively, it is conceivable that one of the first three quires was composed of seven leaves and a stub: cf. e.g. B. Nongbri and S. G. Hall, *JTS* 68 (2017) 580–81.) If this is so, something can be said about the alternation of fibre direction in the codex. Leaf B, the last of the third quire, has the order ↓→, as does leaf A, the second of the quire, while leaf C, the first of the fourth quire, has the order →↓. The codex thus appears to belong to the group with '→ on the outside, but … like facing like (↓↓ or →→) inside' (Turner, *Typology* 66–7, Table 11, group B.IV).

If each of the first 32 pages of the codex held about as much text as those partially preserved, comparison with codex B suggests that p. 1 began at Num xix.9. The part of the book preceding p. 33 would take up approximately 215 such pages, and the whole book about 334 such pages. One may suppose that the part of the book preceding p. 1 was contained in another codex.

Nomina sacra are used regularly for ἄνθρωπος ($\overline{ανος}$, $\overline{ανων}$), θεός ($\overline{θς}$, $\overline{θυ}$), Ισραηλ ($\overline{ιηλ}$), and κύριος ($\overline{κω}$; $\overline{κς}$ supplied), and once, most unexpectedly, for ἄγγελος (A↓5 $\overline{αγλω}$; but the word is written in full at A↓12 and B→(a)7). For the last, A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina sacra …* (1959) 114, was only able to cite $\overline{αγλους}$ in XIII **1603** 12, a copy of Pseudo-John Chrysostom, *In decollationem Praecursoris* (KV 52 in K. Aland and H.-U. Rosenbaum, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri* ii.1 (1995) 344–5), assigned to the fifth/sixth century, and written in a hand similar but not identical to that of the present papyrus. The scribe punctuates with stops at mid-line or letter-top level. A broad blank space following such a stop is indicated by ᵛ in the

transcript. In the one place where such a blank space apparently stands alone, one may suspect that a stop has been lost to damage (A→20).

A rough breathing is written on ὁ, οἱ, ἡ, ὅ and ἥ (A↓15, →1, 3, 15, C→(a)4, (c)2), and apparently once mistakenly on ὄντως (A→8). Diaeresis stands on initial ι and υι. An apostrophe follows the Hebrew names Βαλακ, Βαλααμ, and Μωαβ, except twice at line-end (A→18, 23). Final nu may be replaced by a bar over the preceding letter (C↓(c)7). In one place, a correction has been executed: αι was washed out and replaced by η in φυλαξη at A↓17, perhaps by the scribe himself.

The collation text is the critical edition of J. W. Wevers, *Numeri* (1982). His *Text History of the Greek Numbers* (1982) is cited as *THGN*, and his *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (1998) as *Notes*. The text is generally close to the Old Greek; some of the corruptions are unfamiliar (A↓1, 5, →9–10, 14, B→(a)3), and there is a new stylistic variant at C→(a)3–4. The other known manuscripts from the eighth century and earlier including these verses are S (ɪv; only xxiv.8–21), B (ɪv), A (v), F (v), 624 (v/vɪ; only xxii.33–40), M (vɪɪ), and V (vɪɪɪ).

A
↓

a   λ̄γ̄[

a   ˙

1	νεν cυ cε μεν αν	xxii.33	
	απεκτεινα εκεινην̣ [δε]		
	περιεποιηϲαμην [		
	και ειπεν Βαλαα̣[μ τω]	34	
5	ᾱγ̄λ̄ω̄ τω κ̄ω̄· ημαρ[τη]		
	κα ου γαρ ηπιϲτ[αμην]		
	οτι cυ μοι ανθε[ϲτη]		
	κας εν τη οδω εις cυν̣[αν]		
	τ̣ηϲιν· και νυν ει μη [cοι]		
10	αρεϲκει̣ αποϲτραφ[η]		
	ϲ̣ο̣μαι [και] ειπε̣[ν ο]	35	
	[αγγελ]ο̣ς [του] θ̄ῡ [πρ]ο̣ς [Βα]		
	λαα̣[μ cυμπο]ρ̣ευθη		
	τι μετ̣α̣ [των] ᾱν̄ω̄ν̄		
15	πλην τ[ο ρη]μα ὁ εαν		
	ειπω προς cε τουτ̣ο		
	φυλαξη λαληϲαι̣ [		
	και επορευθη Βα[λα]		
	αμ᾿ μετα των [αρχ]ο̣[ν]		
20	των Βαλακ᾿ κα[ι] α̣κο̣[υ]	36	
	ϲας Βαλ[α]κ᾿ ο̣[τι] ηκε[ι]		
	Βαλααμ᾿ εξη[λ]θ̣εν ει̣[ϲ]		
	cυναντηϲιν̣ αυτ̣ω		

1	[ε]ιc πολιν Μωαβ᾿ ἡ̇ ε		
	[ϲ]τιν επι των οριων		
	[Αρ]νων ὁ εϲτιν εκ με		
	[ρου]ϲ των οριων·		
5	[κα]ι̣ ειπεν Βαλακ᾿ προc	37	
	[Βαλα]αμ᾿ ουχι απεϲτει̣λα		
	[καλε]ϲαι cε· δια τι ου		
	[κ] ηρχου προc με ὁ̇ν		
	[τ]ωc δυνηϲομαι τι		
10	[μηϲ]ω cε· [ᵛ κ]α̣ι ειπεν	38	
	[Βαλαα]μ᾿ π̣[ροc] Β̣αλ[ακ]		
	ι̣δ̣ου ηκ̣[ω προc c]ε· νυ̣ν̣		
	δυνατ̣[οc ει]μ̣ι λαλη		
	ϲαι [τ]ι̣ ε̣ .̣[. . .] το ρημα		
15	ὁ̇ εαν β[αλη] ὁ̇ θ̄c̄ εις το		
	ϲτομα μου τουτο λα		
	[λη]ϲω· ᵛ και επορευθη	39	
	[Βαλ]α̣αμ᾿ μετα Βαλακ·		
	[κ]α̣[ι] ηλθον εις πολεις		
20	[ε]π̣αυ̣λεων ᵛ και εθυ	40	
	[c]εν Β[αλακ]᾿ [π]ροβατα		
	και μο̣[c]χουϲ· και απε̣		
	ϲτειλεν τω Βαλααμ		

B

↓   →

About 5 lines missing   *About 4 lines missing*

(a)   (a)

.   .   .   .

ται ε[θν]η εχθ[ρων αυτου]   xxiv.8   [ουν φευγε εις τ]ον   11
και τα παχη [αυτων]   [τοπον] cου· ε[ι]πα τι
εκμυ[ελιει και ταις βο]   [μηcω και] νυν cε εcτε
[λ]ιc̣ι̣[ν αυτου κατατο]   [ρηcεν cε κ̄c̄ τ]ηc δο
5 ξευ[cει εχθρον]   5   [ξηc και ειπεν B]α   12
κατ[ακλιθεις ανε]   9   [λααμ προc Βαλα]κ'
π̣[αυcατο   [ουχι και τοις αγ]γε

.   .   .   .

About 6 lines missing   *About 7 lines missing*

(b)   (b)

.   .   .   .

[θυμωθη] Βαλακ [επι]   10   [νηcο]μαι π[αραβη]   13
[Βαλααμ] και c̣[υνε]   [ναι το] ρημ[α

.   .   .   .

About 3 lines missing   *About 3 lines missing*

C

→

(a)

a $\overline{\mu\zeta}$

b $\overline{\delta}$

1   και νυν ϊδου αποτρε

χω ε[ιϲ] τον τοπον

μου· δευρο ϲυμβου

λευω ϲοι τι ποι[η]ϲει ὁ

5   [λαοϲ ο]υτοϲ τ[ο]ν λα

[ον ϲου επ εϲχα]των

.   .   .   .   .

2 lines missing

(b)

.   .   .   .   .

[ραβολη]ν αυτο[υ ειπεν]   15

[φηϲιν] Βαλ[ααμ υιοϲ]

.   .   .   .   .

6 lines missing

(c)

.   .   .   .   .

απ[ο]κε[καλυμμενοι]   16

ὁι οφθαλ[μο]ι αυ[του]

δε[ι]ξω αυτω· και [ου]   17

χι νυ[ν] μακαριζ[ω]

5   και ο[υκ] εγγιζει [ανα]

τε[λει αϲ]τρον ε[ξ Ια]

κ[ωβ] και αναϲτ[ηϲε]

↓

(a)

a $\overline{\mu\eta}$

1   ται $\overline{ανοϲ}$ εξ $\overline{ιηλ}$· και   14

θραυϲει τουϲ [α]ρχη

γ[ο]υϲ Μωαβ[ ] και προ

ν[ο]μευϲει πανταϲ

5   το[υ]ϲ ϋιουϲ Ϲη[θ και]   18

εϲ[ται Εδ]ωμ [κληρο]

.   .   .   .   .   .

2 lines missing

(b)

.   .   .   .   .   .

[αυτο]υ· και ι[ηλ εποιη]

[ϲεν] εν ϊϲχυ[ι και εξεγερ]   19

[θηϲετα]ι εξ [Ιακωβ και]

.   .   .   .   .   .

5 lines missing

(c)

.   .   .   .   .   .

[εθνων Αμαληκ] και   20

[το ϲπερμ]α αυτων απο

[λ]ει[ται] ᵛ και ϊ[δ]ων   21

[τ]ον Κειναιο[ν] ανα

5   [λ]αβων τη[ν] παραβο

[λ]ην αυτο[υ ει]πεν· ϊϲχυ

[ρα] ἡ κατοι[κια] ϲου εα̅

[θη]ϲ εν πετρ[α τ]ην

A

↓

1 νεν ϲυ ϲε. The papyrus has a corrupt text, but it is not clear exactly what has gone wrong. The critical text has *και ει μη εξεκλινεν, νυν ϲε μεν*. The exemplar may have had *νενϲυ* in place of *νυνϲε*, an anagrammatism, with *νυν* assimilated to the preceding syllable *νεν*. Then *ϲε* was perhaps written as a replacement above *ϲυ* and wrongly taken by our scribe as an addition. (*νεν* for *νυν* may have been left

SEPTUAGINT

uncorrected in the exemplar, or cancelled as a dittography; or a correction indicated in the exemplar may have been missed or ignored by our scribe.) Alternatively, one could suppose that this is a one-stage corruption: νεν is the final syllable of εξεκλινεν and νυν has been corrupted to cυ. But it would not be easy to explain such a corruption.

αν added here with FV +.

5 τω κ͞ω: l. του κ͞υ. The corruption will be due to assimilation to what precedes. κυριω and κυριου are often variants, e.g. at xxviii.15, xxix.12; for the 'frequent interchange of ου with ω', see Gignac, *Grammar* i 208–11. The critical text has κυριου; in one group (52´-313-422), it is preceded by the article. The addition of the article is discussed by Wevers, *THGN* 103–4.

15 εαν: the majority reading. The variant αν (426 +), required by Classical usage, is preferred by Wevers: see *THGN* 95. P. J. Gentry discusses the choice in relation to Ecclesiastes in R. G. Kratz and B. Neuschäfer (edd.), *Die Göttinger Septuaginta* (2013) 100–103.

17 φυλαξη: after φυλαξ, αι has been washed out and η written over it. φυλαξαι is a well-attested variant (707 +).

→

a ˙. Specks belonging to the page-number or perhaps rather to the line over it.

7 προc cε appears to have been omitted before καλε]cαι cε with Bo.

8–9 ὁν|[τ]ωc: l. ὄντωc. The breathing is damaged but seems clear.

9 ου omitted before δυνηcομαι with 129.

9–10 τι|[μηc]ω written in error for τιμηcαι, perhaps through the influence of the preceding δυνηcομαι. Only the second lobe of ω is preserved but αι seems excluded. Some witnesses (72 +) have τιμηcαι (-cε 72) for τιμηcω at xxiv.11.

13 ει]μι with 414* 53´-129 71 Bo. The critical text has εcομαι, the majority reading. Cf. also the next note.

14 ε˳[˳ ˳ ˳]: possibly ει[μι˙] with a short space for punctuation. The critical text has nothing between λαληcαι τι and το ρημα. Perhaps an ancestor of the present copy had δυνατοc εcομαι in the text earlier in the verse, and ειμι, added as a marginal correction, was inserted in the text at the wrong place; then when δυνατοc εcομαι was corrected to δυνατοc ειμι, the corrector omitted to cancel the superfluous ειμι at the end of the sentence, or his cancellation was overlooked or ignored by the scribe of the present copy. The scribe may similarly have overlooked or ignored a cancellation in his exemplar at ↓ 1: see n.

15 εαν: the majority reading. Again, as at ↓ 15, Wevers adopts the variant αν (106-125´ 318).

B
↓
(a)

1 αυτου gives a long line and may have been omitted with ᴸᵃᵗcodd 91 92.

→
(a)

3 cε should stand before και] ν̣υ̣ν̣, not after it. The error appears not to be found elsewhere. Perhaps και νυν had dropped out, as in Bo, and was restored (from the margin or above the line?) in the wrong place.

C

→

(a)

3–4 *cυμβουλευω̣*: a new reading in place of *cυμβουλευcω*. There is a similar variant at 3 Kgdms i.12, where B has *και νυν δευρο cυμβουλευcω cοι*, while 19-82-108 give the present *cυμβουλευω* as here, but with *ιδου* (19) or *δη* (82-108) in place of B's *δευρο*.

6 *εcχα]των*: a well-attested variant (V +) for the *εcχατον* of the critical text. It was no doubt produced by assimilation to the genitive plural *των ημερων* that follows. See Wevers, *Notes* 411.

↓

(a)

5 *το̣[υ]c ϋϊουc*. Both *υιουc* (BFM +) and *τουc υιουc* (AV +) are well-attested and it is not clear which is to be preferred. Wevers adopts the former as the reading of the oldest witness: see *THGN* 105.

(c)

4 *Κ̣ειναιο̣[ν]* with 29 417* 129 127. The name is variously spelt in the manuscripts. Wevers prints *Καιναιον* in his edition, but in *Notes* 415, he takes the original spelling to be *Κεναιον* (B +).

After *Κ̣ειναιο̣[ν]*, *και* is omitted with 58 ᴸᵃᵗcod 100 Ruf. *Num*. XIX 3 Aeth Arm Bo.

7 After *c̣ο̣υ*, *και* is omitted with Boᴬ.

5405. Deuteronomy xxvi.11, 13, 15–19

3 1B.88/G A: 5.1 × 4 cm Fifth or sixth century

Rahlfs 000 Plates 000

Fragmentary remains of two consecutive leaves, each with the order ↓→. A line holds on average 15–16 letters, and a page will have held 19–20 lines of text. Each page corresponds to about 22 lines of codex B. The fragment of leaf A will have begun slightly lower down than the fragment of leaf B. The book would take up about 282 such pages, of which about 202 would precede A↓.

Nomina sacra are used for *θεόc* ($\overline{θc}$, $\overline{θω}$), *Icραηλ* (B↓4; supplied), *κύριοc* ($\overline{κc}$; $\overline{κω}$ supplied), and *οὐρανόc* (B↓2; supplied). No punctuation is preserved, and there are no lection signs, except a possible rough breathing on *ἥν* (B↓5). *ει* is written for *ι* at A↓3.

Collated with the critical edition of J. W. Wevers, *Deuteronomium* (1977). The text is close to the Old Greek where it is possible to check. The papyrus overlaps in part 957 (P. Ryl. III 458, ɪɪ ʙc) and 848 (P. Fouad inv. 266, *c*. 50 ʙc). The other manuscripts of the eighth century and earlier carrying these verses are B (ɪᴠ), A (ᴠ), F (ᴠ), Wᴵ (ᴠ), M (ᴠɪɪ), and V (ᴠɪɪɪ).

A
↓   →

.   .   .   .

[τοις αγ]αθοις [οις εδω]   xxvi.11   [της οι]κιας μ[ου και]   13

[κεν σο]ι κ̄ς̄ ο θ̄ς̄ [σου και]   [εδωκα] αυτα τω [Λευ]

[τη οι]κεια [[ιτη και τ]ω προ[σηλυ]

     ] . [[τω και τω ο]ρφ[ανω]

.   .   .   .

B
↓   →

.   .   .   .

     ] . . [[φυλασσεσθ]αι [τα δι]   17

ο[υ σου] εκ το[υ ουνου]   15   [καιω]ματα αυ[του] και

κα[ι ευ]λογης[ον τον]   [τα κρι]ματα κ[αι υπ]α

λα[ο]ν σου τον [ιηλ και]   [κουει]ν της φωνης

5   την [γη]ν ην [εδωκας]   5   [αυτο]υ και κ̄ς̄ ε[ιλα]το σε   18

αυτοις καθ[α ωμοσας]   [σημερ]ον γενεσθαι

τοις πατρ[ασιν ημων]   [σε αυτω] λαον περιου

δου[ναι ημιν γην ρε]   [σιον καθαπερ] ειπεν

ουσαν [γαλα και μελι]   [φυλασσειν πασα]ς τας

10 εν τη [ημερα ταυτη]   16   10 [εντολας αυ]του και   19

κ̄ς̄ [ο θ̄ς̄ σου ενετειλατο]   [ειναι σε υπε]ρανω παν

[σοι ποιησαι τα δικαι]   [των των εθν]ων

[ωμ]ατα [ταυτα και τα]   [ως εποιησεν σε ονο]

[κριμ]ατα κα[ι φυλαξε]   [μαστο]ν και κα[υχη]

15 [σθε] και ποι[ησετε αυτα]   15 [μα και] δοξαστ[ον]

[εξ ο]λης κα[ρδιας]   [ειναι σ]ε λαον α[γιον]

.   .   .   .   .   [κ̄ω̄ τω] θ̄ω̄ σου κ[αθως]

                                .   .   .   .   .

A
↓

      3 οι]κεια: l. οικια. The spelling with -ει- is attested in 458 (η κατοικεια) and 767 (η οικεια); for the other variants, see Wevers' edition.

      About 15 lines are lost after line 4.

B

↓

About 14 lines are lost before line 1.

5 ην. A doubtful trace above η may be a rough breathing.

11 Of $\overline{\theta c}$ only the bar.

11–13 The distance between the lower fragment and the left-hand edge is fixed by the vertical fibres, and the text on the other side of the leaf indicates that only one line is entirely lost. The critical text here has εντελλεται coι ποιηcαι παντα τα δικαιωματα, but this cannot be accommodated. I have supposed that the papyrus omitted παντα with 75´ 318 Arab (= MT); and in place of εντελλεται, attested in 848 alone, I have restored ενετειλατο, the reading of the other sources.

16 After o]ληc, τηc is omitted with 72 122* 59.

About five lines are lost after line 16.

→

2 αυ[του] added with V *O* + (= MT).

3 αυτου omitted after κρι]ματα with B V 630ᶜ ᴸᵃᵗcod 100.

7 cε supplied on grounds of space with the majority. The critical text does not include it and it is not present in 957 +.

5406. Joshua x.3–6

3 1B.88/G(1)	18 × 23.8 cm	Fifth or sixth century
Rahlfs 000		Plates 000

Remains of one leaf. A line holds on average 15–16 letters and a page held 19 lines. Each page contains text corresponding to about 20 lines of codex B. The book would take up about 215 such pages, of which about 76 would precede the present leaf.

Nomina sacra are used for Ιερουcαλημ (→2; restored), Ἰηcοῦc ($\overline{iv}$), and Ιcραηλ (→14; restored). The use of $\overline{ιc}$ for Joshua is familiar, e.g. from 963 (P. Chester Beatty VI; ii/iii), G (iv/v), Q (vi/vii), and K (vii/viii); cf. L. Traube, *Nomina sacra* (1907) 113–14; A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina sacra …* (1959) 107–9. Apostrophes follow Hebrew names (→5 Ιεριμουθ, 7 Δαβειρ, 8 Οδολλαμ) and an apostrophe stands between two lambdas in Οδολ'λαμ' (→8). Initial ι and υι are marked by diaereses. There are no breathings: the article οι (↓7) does not receive one. There are no clear examples of punctuation.

There are several corrections, perhaps all due to the scribe himself. An ε is squeezed in between φ and ι at →4 to give Φειδων. At ↓8, the correct text is written over what may be a second copy of the beginning of the previous line: the scribe seems to have caught his error before continuing. Another such correction appears to have been executed in → 15. Expunction dots are used at ↓9.

Collated with B. The manuscript sigla are those of Rahlfs. 816 is P. Schøyen I 23 (Joshua ix.27–xi.3), assigned to the second/third century. Six other copies survive from the eighth century or before, B (iv), G (iv/v), A (v), Wᴵ (v), M (vii), which breaks off in the middle of x.6, and V (viii). The reports in the notes are selective. The information is taken mainly from A. E.

Brooke and N. McLean (edd.), *The Old Testament in Greek* I.iv (1917), and from the edition of 816 by K. De Troyer, who drew on the unpublished work of U. Quast. The text is in general close to that of B. There are new corruptions at ↓8–9 and 12 and an unfamiliar syntactical variant at ↓5.

→   ↓

   4 lines missing   *5 lines missing*

   .   .   .   .

   Αδω̣[νιβεζεκ βασι]   x.3   [και βασιλευς Ο]δ̣ο̣λ
   λευς̣ [ι̅λη̅μ̅ προς Αιλαμ]   [λαμ αυτοι κ]αι πας
   βασιλεα Χεβρω̣[ν και]   [ο λα]ο̣ς αυτων και περι
   προς Φι̇δων βασι[λεα]   εκαθισαν τ̣[η]ν Γα̣βα
5 Ϊεριμ̣[ου]θ̣’ και προς   5   ων πολι̣[ορκ]η̣σαι αυ
   Ϊεφθα̣ [β]ασιλεα Λαχεις   την και α[π]ε̣στειλαν   6
   και π[ρ]ος Δαβειρ’ βασι   οι κατοικουντες Γα
   λεα Οδο̣λ’λαμ’ λεγων   βαω̣ν εις την παρεμ
   δευτ̣ε̣ αναβη[τ]ε̣ προς   4   βο[λ]ην π̣ρ̇ο̇ς̇ [ι̅]ν̣ [ε]ι̣ς Γ[αλ]
10 [με] κ̣αι β̣οηθησα̣τ̣ε̣ μοι   10   γαλα λεγοντε[ς μη]
   [και] εκπολεμησω   εκλυσ̣ης τας χ[ειρας]
   [με]ν̣ Γ̣α̣β̣α̣[ω]ν̣ ηυτομο   σ̣ου αναβηθι π̣ρο[ς]
   [λ]ησεν γαρ προς ι̅ν̅ και   [η]μα̣ς τ[ο] τ̣α̣χ̣ο̣ς κ̣α[ι]
   π̣ρ̣ο̣ς̣ τ̣ο̣υ̣[ς] ϋϊους̣ [ιη̅λ̅]   [εξε]λ̣ου [η]μας και βο̣[
15 και ανε̣[βη]σαν̣ [5

→

    5 Ϊεριμ̣[ου]θ̣’ with A: -ρειμ- 816 B. θ̣ is the upper part of an oval letter: the scribe did not spell the word with a final tau as in 816 at x.5.

    7 Δαβειρ’. Of the first letter, a cross-stroke is preserved on the line. Δαβειρ is given by AF^bGMVW^I, while B* has δαβειν and B^b λαβειν. (816 has Δαβι, not the incorrectly divided Δαβι[ρ] printed in the reconstruction (p. 101, contrast p. 139): the alignment is given by δευτε at the start of the following line, and there is no room for anything to the left of βασιλεα. The line-breaks in the two preceding lines should be adjusted accordingly: |[I]ερειμου[τ … βα]|σιλεα.)

    12–13 ηυτομο|[λ]ησεν with 816 V 19 106 426 (= MT): αυτομολησαν B, ηυτομολησαν AF^bGMW^I. The passage is to be added to those listed by De Troyer 136–7 in which the reading of 816 is similar to the MT and different from that of B; in several of these, the variants in question are -σεν and -σαν, as here.

    15 The text at the start of the line appears to be written over something else.

↓

5 πολι[ορκ]ηcαι. The final infinitive is not otherwise recorded as a variant here, nor in the similar expressions found in x.31, 34, and (in some manuscripts) 36. We expect καὶ ἐξεπολιορκουν (= MT). Brooke and McLean record a variant επολιορκουν (72 82 85 120 407) for εξεπολιορκουν. The two verbs are also variants in the similar expressions in x.34 and 36; only the simplex is recorded in x.31. (At x.39, 816 will have had [και ελαβο]ν αυτην after περιεκ[α]θιcαν αυτην, as expected: cf. the lists of witnesses for both readings in Brooke–McLean. There is more space than the diplomatic transcript shows (p. 118).)

8 The letters at the beginning of the line are written over other text. The ε of εις is clearly made out of ο, and the preceding ν is written on τ; the c of εις appears to be written on κ. The previous letters are damaged and it is not clear what was initially written, but the superfluous upright between α and ω will belong to the earlier writing. It seems possible that the scribe began to write οι κατοικουντεc again before noticing his error and attempting to put it right. If so, one may suppose that his exemplar had lines of the same length (cf. LXXXII **5293** 10 n.) and that he mistakenly looked back at the beginning of the line corresponding to line 7 after finishing it, rather than moving on to the next line. Cf. 12 n.

8–9 προc Ιηcουν is omitted before εις την παρεμβολην. It stands instead before εις Γαλγαλα, where it appears to have been cancelled with expunction dots: that above ρ is clear, those above οc less so, and the others will have been lost. Perhaps the phrase had dropped out at an earlier stage and was restored before the wrong εις; then the corrector simply cancelled the words. (816 also goes astray through parablepsy: it has προc Ιc[ραηλ in place of προc Ιηcουν εις την παρεμβολην Ιcραηλ.) See also 9 n.

9 Ιcραηλ is omitted after εις την παρεμβολην. There is nothing corresponding to it in the MT, and it is obelized in G Syh^m and omitted in 52 and 57. It is unclear whether the omission in the present copy reflects revision towards the Hebrew. It may be associated with the transposition of προc Ιηcουν (8–9 n.): for example, if the explanation given above is correct, the scribe may have found that phrase above the line in his exemplar and thought that it was meant to stand in place of Ιcραηλ rather than after it. There is in any case no evidence elsewhere that our text has been influenced by the fifth column of Origen: see the lists of readings given by De Troyer 129–32.

12 απο των παιδων cου has dropped out after ταc χ[ειραc]‖ c̣ọυ by *saut du même au même*. The omitted phrase would have taken up exactly one line in this copy. If the line divisions match those of the exemplar (cf. 8 n.), the scribe's eye will have skipped from cουα at the start of one line to the same sequence at the start of the next.

5407. 1 Kɪɴɢᴅᴏᴍꜱ xxv.37–42

Most of a leaf. A line holds on average 14–15 letters and a page held 19 or 20 lines. Each page contains the equivalent of about 18 lines of codex B. About 264 such pages would hold the part of the book preceding the start of the leaf, and the whole book would occupy about 319 such pages.

Nomina sacra are used for κύριος ($\overline{κc}$) and for Δαυιδ ($\overline{δαδ}$: ↓1, 5, 8), but at →8, the name is written out in full. An apostrophe follows the Hebrew names Δαυιδ and Ναβαλ wherever it is possible to check. An initial ι is marked with a diaeresis (↓15). There are no breathings. Nu at line-end can be represented by a supralinear bar (↓2). Stops at mid-line level or in the upper

half of the line are used for punctuation. ει is written for ι at →2, and the syllabic augment is omitted in a compound at →14–15.

Collated with B. The texts are nearly identical, but the papyrus has two new errors (→ 3, 14–15) and spells the second syllables of Δαυιδ (when written out in full) and Αβιγαια with ι rather than ει. Only four other copies of this passage survive from the eighth century or before, B (iv), A (v), M (vii), and V (viii). The edition in A. E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H. St. J. Thackeray (edd.), *The Old Testament in Greek* II.i (1927), has been consulted for information about readings.

→   ↓

.   .   .   .

	Left (→)			Right (↓)	
	δια α[υ]του ε[ν αυτ]ω	xxv.37		δ[αδ και] ελ[αλη]cε[ν]	
	και αυτος γεινεται			πε[ρι] α[β]ιγαιας λαβει	
	ω[c] νεος· και εγενε	38		αυ[τ]ην εαυτω εις	
	το ωcει δεκα ημε			γυναικα· και ηλθον	40
5	ραι και επα[ταξε]ν κ[c]		5	οι παιδες δαδ' προς	
	το[ν] Ναβαλ και απε			Α[βι]γαιαν εις Κ[α]ρμη	
	θα[ν]εν· κ[αι] ηκου	39		λον και ελαλ[ηc]αν αυ	
	cε[ν Δ]αυιδ και ειπ[εν]			τη λ[εγ]οντε[c] δαδ' απ[ε]	
	ευλογητος κc οc ε			cτειλεν ημας προς cε	
10	κρινεν την κριcιν		10	λαβειν cε αυτω εις	
	του ονειδιcμου μ[ου]			γυναικα· και ανε	41
	εκ χειρο[c] Ναβαλ			cτη κ[αι] προcεκυν[η]	
	και τον δουλον			cεν επ[ι] τη[ν] γην ε[π[ι]	
	αυτου περιποιηc[α]			προcωπον και ειπεν	
15	το εκ χειρος κακω[ν]		15	ϊδου η δουλη cου	
	και την κακιαν Να			εις παιδιcκην νιψαι	
	βαλ' απεστρεψεν κc			ποδας των παιδων	
	εις κεφαλη[ν αυτου]			[c]ου· και ανεcτη Αβι	42
	. . . . .			[γαια κα]ι επεβη επι	
				. . . . .	

→

2 γεινεται (B*): l. γινεται.

3 νεος: a visual corruption of λιθος with ν from λι and ε from θ. The latter confusion is familiar. As for the former, F. J. Bast, in G. H. Schaefer (ed.), *Gregorii Corinthii … de dialectis* (1811) 919, notes that λι and ν are easily confused in sloping uncials when the letters are not clearly separated and the ι is parallel to the first stroke of λ. The hand of the exemplar may then have been similar to that of this copy.

14–15 περιποιης[α]|το l. περιεποιησατο. For loss of the syllabic augment, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 223–5, and e.g. J. Ziegler (ed.), *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae* (1957) 123.

17 κ̄ς̄. Only the upper half of the last letter is preserved. The traces taken in isolation suggest a small V, perhaps the upper parts of υ, but the letter would be anomalously formed. It is possible that a correction was executed.

One line will accommodate the text missing between the last preserved line on this page and the first line preserved on the next, [και απεcτειλεν].

↓

1 δ̄[αδ. The bar over the initial δ is not preserved, but the spacing indicates that the abbreviated form was used.

8 There was probably a blank space after λ[εγ]οντε[c. It may have been accompanied by a stop.

15 cου. The scribe extended the tail of the final υ down to the level of the tops of the letters of line 17, no doubt accidentally. He writes the ν of νυψαι over the extended tail in line 16.

5408. Jeremiah 1.17–19, 11.2–15, 11.37–111.1, 111.3–5

3 1B.88/G(5–6, 8, 7) + 3 1B.79/F(1–3)e   A: 18.7 × 30.1 cm   Fifth or sixth century
Rahlfs 000   Plates 000

Parts of three leaves. There are about 16–18 letters in each line. B (pp. 7–8) is the leaf following A. Each of pp. 5–8 contains text corresponding to 24 lines of codex B; pp. 5–7 hold 25 lines each and p. 8 holds 24. The first page of leaf C held 22 lines and its text corresponds to 20 lines of codex B. 90 lines precede the beginning of leaf A in codex B. The book will thus have begun at the top of p. 1 in the present codex, with each of the first four pages holding on average the equivalent of 22.5 lines of codex B. The text falling between the end of leaf B and the beginning of leaf C occupies 131 lines in codex B. 6 pages each holding on average the equivalent of 21.8 lines of codex B will have accommodated that stretch of text in our codex. Leaf C is the first of the second quire. The first quire will then have had fourteen numbered pages of text. No doubt it was a quaternion and the first leaf was left blank or contained only the title: cf. on **5404**. In that case, leaves A and B will make up the central bifolium of the first quire. Leaves A and C both have the order ↓→, while leaf B has the order →↓. The codex thus appears to be one of those whose quires 'alternate ↓→↓→ etc. to center' (Turner, *Typology* 66, Table 11, group B.I(b)). The whole book will have occupied approximately 360 pages.

Nomina sacra are used for ἄνθρωπος (A→24, supplied), Ιcραηλ (ιη̄λ̄), κύριος (κ̄ς̄, κ̄ῡ; κ̄ω̄ supplied), and πατήρ (π̄ρ̄α; at A→8 π̄ρ̄ες, the letters are supplied). Stops stand at mid-line level. In two places (A→4, B↓17), we find a wedge-shaped divider followed by a blank space; in the second place, and perhaps also in the first, a stop of the usual kind precedes. > and the like are not familiar in mid-line (though cf. LXIII **4352** fr. 5 ii 33 n.), but commonly used as fillers at line-end, as e.g. in 963 (P. Chester Beatty VI) and W (Freer Minor Prophets); cf. LXXIX **5192** introd. One may suppose that the sign stood at the end of the line in the exemplar and had its usual function; then our scribe, taking it to be used to reinforce the preceding stop,

copied it together with that stop. Initial ι, υ, and υι are marked with diaereses, and a rough breathing is written on ὁ, οἵ, and ἡμᾶϲ (A→16, 18, B↓11, 23), and once wrongly on ἤ (B↓18). A supralinear bar once stands for ν at the end of the line (C→6). αι is written for ε (B→11–12) and ει for ι (C→3), and ϲ is doubled (A↓9). There are no corrections; even an obvious dittography at A↓8–9 is left in place.

Collated with J. Ziegler (ed.), *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae* (1957). The text is for the most part close to the Old Greek, but there is a notable exception at A↓7–9, where the hexaplaric addition after οχυραν at i.18 is included. The similarly well-attested hexaplaric addition following αυτου later in the same verse is not present; nor are those at ii.2, ii.6, and iii.3. Perhaps the main exemplar was damaged at the beginning and the scribe copied the opening of the book from a different exemplar. The papyrus overlaps in part 837 (P. Berol. 17212, ed. K. Treu, *APF* 20 (1970) 60–65), a fragmentary copy of ii.2–iii.25, assigned to the third century. The text survives in five other copies from the eighth century or before, S (IV), B (IV), A (V), Q (VI/VII), and V (VIII).

A

↓   →

απ[ο προσωπου αυτων]   i.17   [οι εϲθοντεϲ αυτον]
μη[δε πτοηθηϲ εναντι]   [πλημμελησουϲι]
ον [αυτων οτι μετα ϲου]   [κακα ηξει επ αυτο]υϲ
ειμ[ι τ]ου ε[ξαιρειϲθαι ϲε]   [φηϲιν κ̅ϲ̅]⁷ ᵛ ακ[ου]ϲα   4
5   λε[γ]ει κ̅ϲ̅· ιδ[ου] τεθ[εικα]   18   5   [τε] λογ[ον] κ̅υ̅ οικ[οϲ] Ϊα
ϲε εν τη ϲη[με]ρον ημε   κωβ κ[αι] παϲα πα[τ]ρια
ρα ωϲ πολιν [ο]χυραν· και   οικου ι̅η̅λ̅ ταδε λεγει   5
ω[ϲ] ϲτ[υ]λον ϲ[ι]δηρουν ϲι   κ̅ϲ̅· τι ευροϲαν [οι π̅ρ̅ε̅ϲ̅]
[δηρου]ν κ[αι] ωϲϲ τειχοϲ   ϋμων ε[ν εμοι πλημ]
10   [χαλ]κο[υν οχ]υρον απαϲι   10   μελημα [οτι α]πεϲ[τη]
[τοιϲ] βαϲ[ιλευϲ]ιν Ϊουδα   ϲαν μακ[ρ]αν απ ε[μου]
[και τ]οιϲ αρχ[ο]υϲιν αυτου   και επορευθηϲα[ν οπι]
[και] τω λαω [τ]ηϲ γηϲ και   19   ϲω των ματαιων [και]
[πολε]μηϲουϲι ϲε και ου   εματαιωθη[ϲ]αν [και]   6
15   [μη δ]υνωνται προϲ ϲε   15   ουκ ειπαν που εϲτ[ι]
[διο]τι μετα ϲου εγω ειμι   κ̅ϲ̅ ὁ αναγαγων ἡμ[αϲ]
[του] εξαιρειϲθαι ϲε ειπε   εκ γηϲ Αιγυπτου [ο κα]
[κ̅ϲ̅ κ]αι ειπεν· ταδε λε   ii.2   θοδηγηϲαϲ ἡμαϲ ε[ν τη]
[γει κ̅]ϲ̅· εμνηϲθην ελε   ερημω εν γη απε[ιρω]
20   [ουϲ] νεοτητοϲ ϲου και   20   και αβατω· εν γη αν[υ]
[αγα]πηϲ τελειωϲεωϲ ϲου   [δρω] και ακαρπω [εν γη]
[του] εξακολουθηϲ[αι ϲε τ]ω   ε[ν η ο]υ διω[δευϲεν εν αυ]
[αγιω ι̅η̅λ̅ λεγ]ει κ̅ϲ̅ [αγι]οϲ   3   τ[η ου]θ[εν και ου κατω]
[ι̅η̅λ̅ τω κ̅ω̅ αρχη γεν]η   κη[ϲεν α̅ν̅ο̅ϲ̅ εκει και]   7
25   [ματων αυτου παν]τεϲ   25   ηγ[αγον υμαϲ ειϲ τον]

B

→   ↓

a $\overline{\zeta}$ *a* $\overline{\eta}$

[Καρμηλον] του φαγειν	γεγονεν τ[οιαυτα ει αλ] 11
[υμας τους κ]αρπους αυτου	[λαξ]ονται ε[θνη θεους αυ]
[και τα αγαθ]α αυτου· και	[των] και ου[τοι ουκ εισι]
[εισηλθατε κ]αι εμιανατε	[θεοι ο δ]ε λ[αος μου ηλλα]
5 [την γην μο]υ και την	5 [ξατο την δοξαν αυτου]
[κληρονομι]αν [μου εθε]	[εξ ης ου]κ ω[φεληθησον]
[σθε εις βδελ]υγμα· οι ιε 8	[ται εξες]τ[η ο ουρανος] 12
[ρεις ουκ ειπ]αν που εστιν	[επι τουτ]ω κ[αι εφρι]ξ[εν]
$\overline{κ}$[ς και οι αντεχομε]	[επι πλειον] cφ[οδρα λ]εγει
10 νο[ι του νομου ουκ η]	10 $\overline{κc}$ οτι δυ]ο κα[ι πον]ηρα 13
πι[σταντο με και οι ποι]	[εποιησεν] ο λ[αος μ]ου
μα[ινες ησεβουν εις ε]	[εμε εγκα]τελ[ειπο]ν πη
με· [και οι] πρ[οφηται ε]	[γην υδατ]ος [ζωης] και
πρ[ο]φ[ητ]ευ[ον τη Βααλ]	[ωρυξαν εα]υ[τοις λ]ακ
15 και [οπις]ω α[νωφελους]	15 [κους cυν]τετ[ριμμ]ενους
επορευθησα[ν δια του] 9	[οι ου δ]υν[η]cον[ται υ]δωρ
το ετι [κρι]θη[cο]μ[αι προς]	[cυνε]χε[ιν]· ⸱ [μη δο]υλος 14
ϋμα[c λε]γει [κ]c· κ[αι προς]	[εcτι]ν ι[ηλ] η [οικο]γενης
τους ϋϊ[ο]υc [των υιων]	[εc]τιν [δι]α τι [εις πρ]ον[ο]
20 ϋμων [κ]ριθ[ηcο]μαι [διο] 10	20 [μ]ην εγ[ε]νε[το επ αυτον] 15
τι ε[λθετε] ει[c] νηcους [	[ωρυ]οντο λεον[τεc και]
[Χεττιει]μ κ[α]ι ιδε[τε]	[εδωκ]αν την φ[ωνην αυ]
[και εις Κ]ηδαρ απ[οcτει]	[των] οι εταξ[αν την γην]
[λατε και] νοηcα[τε]	[αυτο]υ ε[ιc] ερη[μον]
25 [cφοδρα] και [ι]δε[τε ει]	

C

↓　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　→

　a　　$\overline{\beta}$　　　　　　　　　　　.

και ουκ ενοδωθης[η]	ii.37	και εσχες ποιμενας	3
εν α[υ]τη· εαν εξαπ[ο]	iii.1	[π]ο̣λ̣λ̣ους εις πρ̣[ο]σκομ	
στε̣ιλη [α]νη[ρ την γυ]		[μα σεαυτ]η· ο[ψ]εις πορ	
ναικα [αυτου κ]α̣ι α[π]ε̣λ		νης ε̣[γενετο] σοι· απη	
θη απ α[υτ]ον κ̣[αι] γε[ν]η̣	5	να̣ις[χυ]ν̣τη[c]α̣ς προς	
ται ανδ[ρ]ι ετερ[ω]· μη α		π[α]ντ[α]ς· ουχ ως οικε̣ι̣ο̅	4
νακαμ[π]τους[α] αν[α]καμ		μ[ε] εκ[α]λεσα̣[c κα]ι π̅ρ̅α̅ και	
ψει πρ[ος αυτον ετι] ου		αρ̣[χηγο]ν̣ [της] παρθε	
μιαιν[ομε]νη [μ]ιανθη		νι̣ας [cου]· μ̣[η δι]αμενει	5
σετ̣[αι η γυ]νη [ε]κ̣εινη·	10	εις το̣ν αιω̣[να η φυλα]	
[και συ εξεπορνε]υσας		χθης[ε̣]τ̣α̣ι [εις νικος]	
[εν ποιμεσι πολλοις] και		ϊδου [ελαλησας και εποι]	
[ανεκαμπτες προς] μ̣ε		ης̣[ας	

.　　　　　.　　　　　.　　　　　　　.　　　　.　　　　.　　　　.

About 9 lines missing

A

↓

3 There is no room for εγω at the end of the line before ειμ[ι. It is also omitted by B Bo Hi.

7–9 The hexaplaric addition και ως στυλον σιδηρουν is included with *O*-233 *L´*-130´ 87ᵐᵍ-91ᵐᵍ Aeth Arab Arm Chr. Tht. = MT.

8–9 c[ι]δηρουν cι[δηρου]ν̣: the dittography was not cancelled.

9 ωcc τειχοc. For the doubling of c, cf. Ziegler 120; Gignac, *Grammar* i 159–60. Here the error is due to assimilation to ωccτυλον in the previous line.

10 απαcι: the majority reading. *B*-538 have παcι(ν), which Ziegler adopts.

17 ειπε̣ with B-S-239-538 +. Ziegler adopts the variant λεγει.

23–4 [αγι]ο̣c | [ι̅η̅λ̅ τω κ̅ω̅] is bracketed in Ziegler's edition.

→

4 [φηcιν: Ziegler has λεγει (*O*-233 *L´*-130´-198-538 239 Tht. PsChr.) but this seems too short. φηcι(ν), the reading of the remaining sources, is a better fit for the space.

8 π̅ρ̅ε̅c]: bar partly preserved.

25 ηγ[αγον with B A. Ziegler adopts the variant εισηγαγον, but the preverb could not easily be accommodated at the end of the previous line.

B

→

11–12 ποι]|μα[ινϵϲ: l. ποιμενϵϲ. αι for ϵ is a familiar confusion, found e.g. in B* and A in iii.3 ποιμαιναϲ, where this copy has the correct spelling (C→1): cf. Ziegler 111; Gignac, *Grammar* i 191–3.

21 ϵ[λθϵτϵ] with B (ηλθϵτϵ A). Ziegler has the majority reading διελθϵτϵ.

22 [Χϵττιϵι]μ: I have supplied -τιϵι]μ, as in B A, rather than -τιμ, placed by Ziegler in the text: the latter would not fill the gap.

↓

7 ουρανοϲ was probably written in full to judge by the spacing. Contrast **5405** B↓2 (supplied).

12 ϵγκα]τελ[ειπο]ν restored with A. Ziegler has the spelling with -ι-, but this would not fill the gap.

18] ἤ [: l. ἤ.

19 [ϵϲ]τιν with S B* A; cf. Ziegler 122. Ziegler prints ϵϲτι.

C

→

a ̣. A trace of the page-number or of the line under it.

3 ο[ψ]ειϲ: l. οψιϲ. S has the same itacistic spelling. Cf. Ziegler 112.

6 οικει̣ο̄: οικειον is a well-attested variant (V-26-106-538 +) for οικον.

10–11 φυλα]|χθηϲ[ϵ]τ̣α̣ι: Ziegler prints διαφυλαχθηϲϵται, but the space will not accommodate δια. φυλαχθηϲϵται is a well-attested variant (B-106′-538 26 198 239).

W. E. H. COCKLE / W. B. HENRY

II. NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

5409. Title: Stesichorus or Sophocles (?), *Eriphyle*

127/77   2.4 × 2.2 cm   Late second or third century
                                                                    Plate 000

A tiny scrap with the remains of a book-title. Written along the fibres; the back is blank. Book-titles sometimes have the first and last letter of each word ornamented by curved lines above and below (cf. e.g. III **445**, IV **771**, LII **3683**, LIII **3715**, LVII **3890**, and see LXXXIII **5358** introd.); what survives here is the arc below the initial of the author's name and those above and below the initial of the work's title. It is impossible to tell whether so small a scrap comes from the title written at the beginning or end of the roll or from a title-tag attached to it. The small quantity of writing that survives is in an upright hand with affinities to the Severe Style. It can be placed anywhere in the late second or third century. The crossbar of ϵ protrudes to the right, the foot of ρ dips below the baseline, and ϕ has a shallow bowl.

The title of the work, given in the second line, must be *Eriphyle*. Works so titled are attested for Stesichorus (frr. 92a–95 Finglass), Sophocles (frr. 201a–*h Radt), Nicomachus of Alexandria in the Troad (*TrGF* 127 F 4), and perhaps one Menecrates (*TrGF* DID A 4b, 4–5). All but the first two authors are excluded by the initial sigma; the trace to the right of that letter is indecisive as to which of the two was meant. Stesichorus' poem has been recognized in XXXII **2618** (frr. 93–5 Finglass); Sophocles' tragedy is so far unknown in the papyrological record, unless Welcker was right to argue that the *Eriphyle* was the same as the *Epigoni* (frr. 189–190 Radt; LXXI **4807**).

```
  .      .              .      .      .
  ϲ ̣[                  ϲ ̣[
  ε̆ριφ[                Ἐριφ[ύλη
  .      .              .      .      .
```

1 ̣[, a fairly low speck of ink   2 ϕ[, only the left-hand side of the bowl survives

E. E. PRODI

5410. Fʀᴀɢᴍᴇɴᴛꜱ Mᴇɴᴛɪᴏɴɪɴɢ Aɴᴀᴄʀᴇᴏɴᴛɪᴄ Tᴏᴘɪᴄꜱ (Cᴏᴍᴇᴅʏ?)

8 1B.196/D(d)　　　　　　Fr. 1 4.3 × 9.2 cm　　　　　　Mid-second century
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Plate 000

Three fragments from a papyrus roll, with text running along the fibres. The back of fr. 3 is blank, but frr. 1 and 2 have text on the back, written upside down in relation to that on the front. The text on the back of fr. 1 belongs to a list of pharmaceutical products with quantities in ounces, while the back of fr. 2 gives only negligible remains of two lines at the top (corresponding to the foot of the front), perhaps in the same hand as the text on the back of fr. 1. The upper margin is preserved in fr. 2 to a depth of about 1.3 cm; the left-hand margin is preserved in fr. 1 to a width of 1 cm and in fr. 2 to a width of 1.5 cm.

The text is copied in an informal roundish hand, leaning slightly to the right. A letter may be joined to the next: note e.g. αc in fr. 1.2, 4, 5, $\lambda\theta o$ in fr. 1.6. α has a narrow pointed or rounded loop; both kinds are used in fr. 1.6. κ is made in a single movement, with the upper branch joining the upright at the base. ω has a flat bottom. One may compare P. Fuad Univ. 19 (Roberts, *GLH* 15*b*), a sale of land of 145/6, and the more angular P. Mich. inv. 3 (Roberts, *GLH* 15*c*; MP³ 346), Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, for which a dating formula on the back provides a *terminus ante quem* of 192/3. I would assign **5410** to the mid-second century.

The scribe punctuates with a high point (frr. 1.3, 3.1). There is a paragraphus under fr. 1.4. An apostrophe marks elision in fr. 1.4. Critical signs appear in the left margin of frr. 1.2 and 2.6 (chi) and 2.7 (*diple*), both presumably indicating something noteworthy, though it is not clear why two different signs are used: cf. K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (1992) 22–3. There is no indication that more than one hand has contributed.

Fr. 1.8 probably mentions Anacreon's beloved boy Smerdies. The Attic vocalisation $\Lambda\alpha\mu\pi\rho\iota\alpha c$ (fr. 1.5) excludes the possibility that the composition is the work of Anacreon or an Anacreonteum. The absence of grammatical or technical language makes it unlikely that this is a commentary on Anacreon (like LIV **3722**, LXV **4454**). Prose (one could think of a work like Plutarch's *Table Talk*, biography, novel, or historiography) may be suggested, if -$\alpha\iota\rho\alpha c$ (fr. 1.6) belongs to a word split by line-break, but the *hapax legomena* $\tau\epsilon\gamma\iota c\kappa o\nu$ and $\kappa\omega\mu\alpha c\tau\rho\iota\alpha$ (fr. 1.3, 4) and the probable hyperbaton $\tau\grave{o}\nu\ \dot{\alpha}\beta\rho\grave{o}\nu\ \dot{\epsilon}\nu\ C\dot{\alpha}[\mu\omega\iota\ ...\ ]\ |\ C\mu\epsilon\rho\delta\iota\eta\nu$ in fr. 1.7–8 do not seem compatible with a prose text.

We may then consider a different poetic genre, namely comedy. The appearance of Anacreon and persons related to him would not come as a surprise: we know that Sappho at least appeared in Attic comedies of all periods, with some of them even bearing her name (Old Comedy: Amips. test. 2 and fr. 15 K.–A.; Middle Comedy: Antiph. fr. 194 K.–A., Ephipp. fr. 20 K.–A., Amphis fr. 32 K.–A., Timocl. fr. 32 K.–A.; New Comedy: Diph. frr. 70–71 K.–A.; see D. Yatromanolakis, *Sappho in the Making* (2007) 293–312, esp. 298 n. 57 for other comedies possibly related to Sappho). There is no such evidence for Anacreon (though he is at least mentioned in Ar. *Th.* 161 and fr. 235 K.–A., and imitated in *Ach.* 850 and *Av.* 1373–4); but he appears as Sappho's contemporary or even lover in the biographical tradition (cf. Chamael. fr. 26 Wehrli or Hermesian. fr. 3.47–52 Lightfoot). He may well also have been the subject of an

Attic comedy: he spent a period of his career in Athens (cf. *ZPE* 198 (2016) 1–13), as reflected in vase-paintings (Yatromanolakis 64) and in the performance of some of his poems as scolia (Ar. fr. 235 K.–A.). The Ionic form Cμερδίην is not an obstacle to an attribution to comedy, as the name is closely associated with Anacreon's lyric poetry. One could compare the convivial Anacreontics in E. *Cyc.* 495–518, where Ionic forms are transmitted in codex L (500 and 504), defended by Seaford ad 500; cf. P. Bing, '*Anacreontea* avant la lettre: Euripides' *Cyclops* 495–518', in M. Baumbach and N. Dümmler (edd.), *Imitate Anacreon!* (2014) 40–41. Besides the formation of fr. 1.4 κωμάϲτρι(α) (cf. n.), the names Λαμπρίαϲ (fr. 1.5) and Νέαιρα (if this is the right supplement in fr. 1.5–6), both occurring in Attic contexts, would suit comedy.

What role did Smerdies play in this comedy? Was he a proper character, as Sappho was, together with Alcaeus and Hipponax, in a play by Diphilus (fr. 71 K.–A.)? Especially if the supplement ἐν Cά̣[μῳ (fr. 1.7) is accepted, it seems rather that Smerdies is introduced here, as the appearance of names like Lamprias and (perhaps) Neaira suggests a contemporary setting. It seems more probable that Smerdies was only mentioned (and with him Anacreon as his *erastes*, perhaps together with the Samian tyrant Polycrates), possibly as an example used to illustrate a story of jealousy. The resemblance of the anecdote narrated in Ael. *VH* 9. 4 (cf. fr. 1.8 n.) to comedy has been noted by interpreters of Anacreon *PMG* 347.1 (such as K. Latte, *Kleine Schriften* (1968) 792; B. Gentili, *Anacreonte* (1958) 208–9): pointing to the similar plot of Menander's *Perikeiromene*, they have supposed that the story was the product of Peripatetic biography, which might have been influenced by comedy.

The line-beginnings cannot all be in the same metre. 2–4 and 7, but not 5–6 and 8, can be the beginnings of iambic lines, while only 5 and 7–8, not 2–4, can be trochaic beginnings:

2	⏑ – ⏓[	iambic, not trochaic
	⏑ – ⏑ –[	iambic, not trochaic
	– – ⏑ – ⏓[	iambic, not trochaic
5	– ⏑ – –[	trochaic, not iambic
	– ⏓ – ⏑ ⏓[	trochaic (doubtful, cf. below), not iambic
	⏑ ⏓ ⏑ – ⏓[	trochaic (or iambic, but in comedy we expect the first syllable of ἁβρόν to scan short)
	– ⏑ –[	trochaic, not iambic

Indeed it seems possible that there was a change of metre after 4. The paragraphus may have indicated a change of speaker that was connected with the change of metre, or simply marked the end of a section without any speaker-change (for a paragraphus separating trochaic tetrameters from a trochaic passage of the chorus, cf. Ar. *V.* 462–3 in XI **1374**, 5th or 6th cent.). As for the nature of the trochaic metre, one might first think of the trochaic tetrameter catalectic. But the separation of -αιραϲ (6), if correctly recognized, makes this rather improbable: we would expect common trochaic tetrameters catalectic to be laid out κατὰ ϲτίχον. We should then assume instead lyric trochaics. If the second syllable is long (as in M. L. West's Νε]|αίραϲ), it will be necessary to assume either a different verse-form or a line-break in the middle of a trochaic metron.

The appearance of a κωμάϲτρια (4) may also suggest lyric verses. In New Comedy, and already in Middle Comedy, the chorus was introduced at the end of the first act as a group of revellers (Alexis fr. 112.1–3 K.–A., Men. *Asp.* 248, *Dysc.* 231, *Epit.* 170, *Pk.* 261, cf. Ter. *Hau.* 120 *egomet convivas moror*). We may then wonder whether lines 2–4 contained such an introduction of the chorus. It is true that one would rather expect a plural, but of course it is possible that only one girl was present among the komasts (a fact perhaps expressed negatively: 'nor is a κωμάϲτρια missing …'). The presence of lyrics would exclude the possibility that the fragment belongs to New Comedy. If we accept West's *Nε‖αίραϲ* (5–6), we will have a hetaira's name. Although hetairai already occurred in Old Comedy (in less political representatives like Crates or Pherecrates), the character seems to have played a far more important part in Middle Comedy (H.-G. Nesselrath, *Die attische mittlere Komödie* (1990) 318–19). Thus an attribution to an author of Middle Comedy would be an attractive option, which could also explain the use of a lyric metre. For Middle Comedy on papyri, cf. Antiph. fr. 34 K.–A. = III **427**, 3rd cent.; Timocl. fr. 14 K.–A. is quoted in Didymus' commentary on Demosthenes, P. Berol. inv. 9780 r. (MP³ 339, 2nd/3rd cent.). For a survey of metres apart from iambic trimeters and trochaic tetrameters catalectic in Middle and New Comedy (lyric trochaics not among them), cf. R. L. Hunter, *ZPE* 36 (1979) 33–7.

Suggestions made by Claudia J. Geißler, Dr W. Benjamin Henry, Prof. Richard L. Hunter, and the late Dr Martin L. West are cited below with their initials. I thank Dr Daniela Colomo for providing a description of the back of the papyrus and a palaeographical commentary.

Fr. 1

```
        .      .      .                    .      .      .
      . [ . ] . [                       . [ . ] . [
   χ  καταϲβ . [                        καταϲβ . [
      τεγιϲκον·ου . [                    τεγιϲκον· ου . [
      κωμαϲτρι'ουδα[                    κωμάϲτρι' ουδα[
   5  ‾λαμπριαϲδητ̣[                  5  ‾Λαμπρίαϲ δητ[
      αιραϲηλθονερ[                     αιραϲ ἦλθον ερ[
      τοναβρονενϲ . [                   τὸν ἁβρὸν ενϲα̣[
      ϲμερδιην[                         Ϲμερδίην[
      δα̣ . [                           δα̣ . [
        .      .      .                    .      .      .
```

1 . [, a trace at line-level in a damaged area   ] . [, the foot of an upright   2 . [, the upper part of a left-hand arc   3 . [, the lower part of an upright on the edge   7 . [, an ascending oblique, with traces of another ascending oblique below suggesting the angular nose of α   9 . [, two traces at letter-top level, the first thicker than the second, suggesting two uprights, possibly belonging to a square letter (unless the first is the tip of ι)

Fr. 2   Fr. 3

$$\begin{array}{ll}
& \alpha\mu[\\
& \beta\epsilon[\\
& \delta\omega[\\
& \cv\,.\,[\\
5 & \delta\iota\zeta[\\
& \chi\ \pi\alpha[\\
7 & o\,.\,[\\
& \kappa[\\
& \quad.\qquad.
\end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{ll}
& .\qquad. \\
&]\,.\,\nu\cdot\,[\\
&]\,.\,o\rho\omega\nu[\\
&]\,.\,\alpha\lambda\omega\nu[\\
&]\,.\,\ [\\
5\quad &]\epsilon\kappa\alpha[\\
&]\,.\,.\,.\,[\\
&]\,.\,\nu[\\
& .\qquad.
\end{array}$$

Fr. 2

   4 .[, the left-hand side of α or δ   7 .[, a damaged ascending oblique: μ or a triangular letter

Fr. 3

   1].., the lower part of a right-hand arc, e.g. *o* or *ω*   2].., a trace on the edge at mid-height (the end of a horizontal?)   3].., a trace on the edge slightly above mid-height, perhaps part of an upper arc   4].., remains of a downward-curving thick horizontal   6]...[, faded traces of two or three letters: first, remains of an upright slightly slanting to the right; second, after a small lacuna, a short horizontal trace roughly at mid-height; third, the left-hand side of α or δ   7]., a trace at line-level in a damaged area, perhaps part of the lower arc of a circle

Fr. 1

   'extinguish … little roof (?); … female reveller …
   'Lamprias … Neaira (?) … came … the tender Smerdies … in Samos (?) …'

Fr. 1

   2 κατασβ.[. For κατασβέννυμι in comedy, cf. Ar. *Lys.* 374–5.

   3 τε γ᾽ ἴϲκον would be a possible articulation (although the elision would be unmarked, whereas we have an apostrophe in the next line); for τέ γε, see Denniston, *Greek Particles* 161, though he points out that the combination, 'especially in juxtaposition, seems to have been rather disliked by Greek writers, except perhaps Plato'. But other collocations may be considered, e.g. τό‖τε γ᾽, as in *Il.* 11.107 δὴ τότε γ᾽ Ἀτρεΐδης. The verb ἴϲκειν occurs in early epic, but only in the form ἴϲκε(ν). For the form ἴϲκον, cf. A. R. 4.1718 (3rd pers.) and Theoc. 22.167 (1st pers.); on the semantic development, see Livrea on A. R. 4.92. As the verb is restricted to dactylic genres (except Lyc. 574), it would not match κωμάϲτρι᾽ (4). WBH more plausibly suggests that what we have here is an otherwise unattested diminutive, τεγίϲκος: diminutives of this kind are more often masculine than neuter, like μελίϲκον in Alcm. *PMGF* 36 (cf. A. Debrunner, *Griechische Wortbildungslehre* (1917) 200–201). Both the form and the probable meaning would suit comedy: cf. S. D. Olson, *Eupolis Frr. 326–497* (Fragmenta Comica VIII.3; 2014), on Eup. fr. 458 K.–A. For diminutives in comedy, cf. A. Willi in G. W. Dobrov (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Study of Greek Comedy* (2010) 484, and for τέγος, 'roof', e.g. Ar. *Nu.* 1502; but the special meaning 'brothel', attested later, might be relevant here as well (cf. e.g. Diosc. *AP* 11.363.4 = *HE* 1700, with Gow–Page ad loc.; also ϲτεγῖτιϲ, 'prostitute', Poll. 7.201, Hsch.). CJG draws my attention to τεγίδιον, the name of a woman's garment in an inscription (SEG XLIII 212(B).38, Tanagra, III BC; cf. also PSI IV 341.7, Philadelphia, 256 BC); Hsch.

τ 305 paraphrases τεγείδιον· κοϲμάριον ποιὸν γυναικεῖον. One might compare Latin *teges*, 'matting'. Such a meaning would go well with the female reveller of 4.

4 κωμάϲτρι(α): not attested elsewhere, but the formation with the very productive suffix -τρια is clear. For an extensive examination of words of this type, cf. M. S. Silk, 'Greek -τρια and the In-authenticity of Archilochus 331', *Eos* 73 (1985) 239–46, who shows that in pre-Hellenistic Greek, the formation occurs mainly in Attic and only sporadically in West Greek (perhaps due to Attic influence, Silk 243). It is alien to epic Ionic and Ionic (Archil. 331 W. being Hellenistic). As Silk (240–41) and Olson (as above, 3 n., on Eup. fr. 434 K.–A.) show, there are formations with the suffix -τρια in tragedy, satyr-play, and prose, but most of the examples come from Aristophanes and other poets of Old, Middle, and New Comedy: θηλάϲτρια, 'wet-nurse', Cratin. fr. 459 K.–A., Eup. fr. 417 K.–A. (also in S. fr. 98 Radt); ἐράϲτρια Eup. fr. 451 K.–A.; λαχανοπωλήτρια Ar. *Th.* 387; ἀνδρεράϲτρια ibid. 392, later adapted in φιλεράϲτρια Phld. *AP* 5.4.5 = *GP* 3164 (= 7.5 Sider), with the same elision as in our passage if the corrector's φιλεράϲτρι᾽ ἄκοιτιϲ is right (cf. Sider ad loc.); ϲυβώτρια Pl. Com. fr. 209.1 K.–A.; ϲυλλήπτρια Ar. 895 K.–A. Some examples suggest the same context as κωμάϲτρια: ψάλτρια Ion fr. 22 *TrGF* (satyr-play), Eubul. (title) 118 Hunter = 116 K.–A., Dromo (title) frr. 1 and 2 K.–A., Titinius pp. 172–3 Ribbeck, Men. *Epit.* fr. 1 Sandbach and 145, 589, 600, 621, fr. 224.4 K.–A., Pl. *Prot.* 347d, κιθαρίϲτρια Anaxandrides (title) fr. 24 K.–A., Theophilus fr. 12.5 K.–A., ϲαμβυκίϲτρια Philemon fr. 45.5 K.–A., μεθύϲτρια Theopompus fr. 94 K.–A., ϲυγχορεύτρια Ar. fr. 894 K.–A., μοιχεύτρια and ἑταιρίϲτρια Pl. *Smp.* 191e; Sappho is called γυναικε‖[ράϲ]τρια in XV **1800** fr. 1 i 18–19 (Chamael. fr. 27 Wehrli, Sapph. fr. 252 Voigt).

5 Λαμπρίαϲ. In Attic inscriptions, this name is first attested *c.* 363/2 BC (J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens* (2002) no. 601554). It occurs in comedy and related prose texts at Men. frr. 11, 268 K.–A., Euphron fr. 1.8 K.–A., Luc. *DMeretr.* 3, Ael. *Ep.* 11 and 12, and Aristaenet. *Ep.* 1.16. Plutarch's grandfather and brother bore the name Lamprias, and both were speakers in his dialogues, especially in *Table Talk*.

6 αιραϲ. If there is no word-division, we may have the place-name Αἶραι or the rare noun αἶρα. For the former, cf. Thuc. 8.19.4, 20.2; Strab. 14.1.32 = 644 C (see Radt ad loc. on accent and orthography) calls it πολίχνιον Τηΐων. αἶρα may mean 'hammer' (Call. *Aet.* fr. 115.12 Pf. = 113e.12 Harder and Euph. fr. 71.9 Lightfoot) or 'axe-head' (Hsch.). It is also the name of a plant, 'darnel' (German 'Lolch'), found in technical prose and twice in comedy (Ar. fr. 428 K.–A. and Pherecrates 201 K.–A., both lists of foods). As none of these meanings is suitable in our context, αιραϲ is presumably the continuation of a word that began in the line before. The rules of word division (e.g. R. Janko, *Philodemus, On Poems, Book I* (2000) 75–6) exclude among others ἑταίραϲ, ϲφαίραϲ, and μαχαίραϲ (the last of which would have been interesting because it would match Poseidipp. fr. 1.8–9 K.–A. ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸϲ | εἰϲ τὰϲ μαχαίραϲ ἦλθον), and not many possibilities remain. One of them would be Νε]|αίραϲ (MLW), which is an appealing solution, since Neaira is not only the name of the famous hetaira in [D.] 59, but also the title of some comedies: Timocles (Middle Comedy) frr. 25–6 K.–A., Philemon (New Comedy) fr. 49 K.–A., Licinius Imbrex, pp. 39–40 Ribbeck.

If ἦλθον is 3rd person plural, Lamprias (5) cannot be the only subject. 'ἦλθ᾽ ὄν is a theoretically possible division, but not likely when we have apostrophe marking elision two lines above' (WBH).

ερ[. A participle of ἐρᾶν or something with ἔρωϲ (RLH)?

7 ἁβρόϲ is particularly popular in early lyric poetry and in tragedy, and 'rare in early Prose' (LSJ). Anacreon *PMG* 347 fr. 1.1–2 uses it of the tender neck of a beautiful boy (probably Smerdies) whose beautiful hair was shorn: καὶ κ[ό]μ[η]ϲ, ἥ τοι κατ᾽ ἁβρόν | ἐϲκία[ζ]εν αὐχένα; on the associations of this incident with Polycrates of Samos, see 8 n. For ἁβρόϲ in comedy, cf. Antiph. fr. 91.2 K.–A. (see below), Com. Adesp. fr. 123 K.–A. Ἀλκιβιάδην τὸν ἁβρόν, and Habrotonon, the name of a hetaira in Men. *Epit.* and *Pk.* The word suits the appearance of a female reveller: in Anacreon (and in the *Anacreontea*), it

usually appears together with a *komos* and drinking (*PMG* 373.2–3, *Anacreont.* 43.8, 44.5, cf. Diosc. *AP* 7.31.9 = *HE* 1583, of Anacreon in the underworld, ἁβρὰ χορεύϲηϲ, with Smerdies mentioned in l. 1 and the hetaira Eurypyle in l. 10). The adjective must have had a flavour of eastern softness to an Athenian audience (E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (1989) 81, adducing from comedy e.g. Antiph. fr. 91 K.–A. Ἰώνων τρυφεραμπεχόνων ἁβρὸϲ ἡδυπαθήϲ). As ἐν Cά[μωι is a possible supplement (frequently e.g. in Thuc. 8), Clearchus' application of the adjective to Samos itself might be of particular relevance (fr. 44 Wehrli Κλέαρχοϲ δέ φηϲιν ὡϲ Πολυκράτηϲ ὁ τῆϲ ἁβρᾶϲ Cάμου τύραννοϲ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον ἀκολαϲίαν ἀπώλετο). As WBH points out, ἐν Cά[μωι does seem to need a verb of some kind with which it may be taken. It can hardly go with ἁβρόν: 'the tender-in-Samos Smerdies' would not work as an expression.

8 Cμερδίηϲ was the name of a boy loved by Anacreon, addressed in *PMG* 366.2. The name is often attested in the later biographical tradition. According to the well-known story told most fully in Ael. *VH* 9.4 (cf. also Stob. *Ecl.* 4.21.4 (iv 491 Hense) = Favorinus fr. 13 (iii 49 Amato) and Ath. 12.540d), the Samian tyrant Polycrates became jealous because his beloved boy Smerdies was affectionate towards Anacreon, and he cut off the boy's hair; Anacreon did not blame Polycrates for the deed, but the boy himself. There seems to be no other person in antiquity who bore this name. The variant Cμέρδιϲ was also applied to Anacreon's boy: see LXV **4454** fr. 3.3 with n., adducing Antip. *AP* 7.29.3 = *HE* 272 and Max. Tyr. 18.9 (162.271 Trapp). Persians have the name, e.g. in Hdt. The appearance of τὸν ἁβρόν in the vicinity, the Ionic form of the name in a context which is otherwise distinctively Attic (4 κωμάϲτρια, 5 Λαμπρίαϲ), and the possible supplement ἐν Cά[μωι all make the identification with the boy loved by Anacreon and Polycrates the most probable.

Fr. 2

5 διζ[. Perhaps a form of δίζεϲθαι, a verb which is restricted to epic, Ionic prose, and lyric poetry (according to the TLG only once in tragedy, A. *Suppl.* 821, in a lyric passage); cf. Anac. *PMG* 360.1–2 ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων, | δίζημαί ϲε, ϲὺ δ' οὐ κλύειϲ, but the underlined sequences of letters appear in a different order in our fragment (4–6).

<div align="right">H. BERNSDORFF</div>

5411. Hellenistic or Imperial Hexameters

Seventeen fragments copied across the fibres on the back of a land register or survey with text running in the same direction. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 1.4 cm (fr. 2), and the lower margin to a depth of 2.6 cm (fr. 6).

The text is copied in a medium-sized sloping hand of the Severe Style comparable to that of LXXVII **5102** and datable to the same period. There is a rough breathing (Turner's form 1) at fr. 5.6, and diaeresis is marked at frr. 4.4, 8.5, 15.2. Elision is effected and marked (frr. 1.7, 8, 5.8, 9.6, 11.3). The diphthong ηι is given as η at fr. 8.3 λαπιθηϲιν. ει is written for ι and *vice versa* (frr. 1.2 ακτεινεϲϲ[, 3.1 -κιοιϲι for -κείοιϲιν, corrected above the line, 5.4 νιοθ- for νειόθ-), and αι for ε (frr. 3.2, 6.3, both corrected above the line). Final ν is twice omitted and restored above the line (frr. 1.5, 3.1).

There are numerous corrections. Letters to be inserted in the text or substituted for those on the line are added above. Some of these letters are in a more cursive hand: note e.g. the ϵ at frr. 3.1, 5, 6.3, 8.6. Where one letter is simply to be substituted for another, the letter on the line may be left uncancelled, as e.g. in fr. 1.8, but where it is not immediately obvious to which stretch of text a correction applies, the letters to be replaced are crossed out, as e.g. in fr. 9.5. One letter may be made into another or others by the addition of strokes: so η is made into $o\iota$ (fr. 1.3) and ω into o (frr. 6.6 (?), 12.4). The scribal errors are not reproduced in the reconstructions printed below.

It is not clear how many poems are represented. In fr. 1, a promise of reincarnation made at some point in the past is mentioned, and fools and sensible men are contrasted, but the details are unclear. Fr. 8 alludes at least in passing to the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. The remaining fragments give no continuous sense.

As for style, $\zeta\omega\theta\alpha\lambda\pi\acute{\eta}c$ (fr. 1.2) and $\pi o\iota\nu\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\rho$ (fr. 1.3) with -η- are otherwise found only in Nonnus. The line-ends of fr. 8 contain two points of metrical interest: see the commentary. The composition is no doubt to be placed in the Hellenistic or Roman period.

Various suggestions have been contributed by G. B. D'Alessio, W. B. Henry, and C. Meliadò, and are acknowledged at the appropriate places with their initials.

Fr. 1

.   .   .   .

```
      ].. εδι. ηκατε.[.]υсε...[                [ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ]ν τε δίκη κατέν[ε]υсε... [ ⏑ – × ]
      ]ουζωθαλπεοсακτεινεсс[                    [ – ⏑⏑ ἠελί]ου ζωθαλπέος ἀκτίνεсс[ιν]
      ].λιναυτισεπηνποινητο.[                   [ – ⏑⏑ – π]άλιν αὖτιс ἐπὴν ποινήτορ[ ⏑ – × ]
      ]κηсπεριπανταθαμεντ[                      [ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑]κηс περι πάντα δαμέντ[ × ]
  5   ]οννα ιεϊκαινειαταβ[.].[          5      [ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑]ον ναίειν καὶ νείατα β[.].[ – × ]
      ]νικηῤες...νεθρε.ηψ[.].[                 [ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ἐ]νὶ κήδεсιν εθρε.ηψ[.].[
      ]ενιφρεсινουτ᾽επιβωμοι.[                  [ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ ] ἐνὶ φρεсὶν οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ βωμοῖс
      ].сαμαρτινἐοιμαλ᾽εοντε[                   [ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ ].с ἁμαρτίνοοι μάλ᾽ ἐόντε[с]
      ]. ιсιννοοсεμπεс̓εδημ‖:[                   [ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ] οἷсιν νόος ἔμπεδος ἦ εν
 10   ]ὐ.ακαρεсθ[.....].[           10         [ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ ]ευ μάκαρες θ[εοὶ ....].[
         ].λεομεν[                                   ].λεομεν[
           ]сс ινε.[                                   ]сс ινε.[
             ].ω[                                        ].ω[
```

.   .   .   .

1].., the foot of a thick upright with a low oblique or horizontal joining from the left, suiting ν; a descender: τ or υ .. , the foot of an upright; after a short gap, a gently sloping oblique on the line: κ or ζ .[, obliques intersecting at mid-line level: ν or λ ..[, three low traces, then perhaps the foot of an upright   3]., the end of a low oblique $o\iota$ made out of η η has some surplus ink on

the left   ̣[, a high trace   5] ̣[, a high trace   6 ϲ ̣ ̣, a low arc: ϲ or ο; an upright   ̣η, a low arc, abraded on the right: ο or ε   ] ̣[, the foot of an upright, then a low curve: μ or ν?   7 ̣[, the lower left-hand corner of ϲ or ο   8] ̣, a low speck   9] ̣, a speck at mid-line level   ⟦ ̣⟧[, a thick upright with a horizontal cancel-stroke   *s.l.* ̣[, on the edge, an upright hanging from the extended crossbar of ε   10 *s.l.*]ε, the cap and the end of the crossbar, spaced as in the second ε in 9: prima facie not ϲ, as the lower trace is flat (WBH)   ]υ ̣, the tops of two uprights, suiting μ   ] ̣[, the upper arc of a circle: ο, ϲ, β   11 *s.l.*] ̣, the end of a thick ascending oblique or horizontal   ] ̣, the edge of the right-hand arc of a circle: perhaps ω (WBH)   12 ̣[, the upper right-hand corner of β or ρ   13] ̣, a high speck on the edge

Fr. 2

]οϲδιεμετ[(with ου above)	]οϲον διεμέτ[ρε
] ̣πνοιομ[	] ̣πνοιομ[
]νμεγαλ[	]ν μεγαλ[
] ̣ηϲδεινη[	] ̣ηϲ δεινη[
5]νατωνμα[	5]νατων μα[
] ̣πυματοϲ̌[(with ν above)	] ̣πύματον [
] ̣μαλιϲτατ[	] ̣μάλιϲτα τ[
] ̣ρηοιεπι ̣[	]αρηοι ἐπι ̣[
] ̣ονεϲαπ[	] ̣ονεϲαπ[
10] ̣ε ̣[	10]ηε ̣[
] ̣ε[	] ̣ε[
. . .	. . . .

2] ̣, a high trace followed by a dot at mid-line level   4] ̣, an upright, close to η: ι or π   6] ̣, a speck on the edge, as of a descender   7] ̣, a mid-line speck, perhaps the crossbar of ε   8] ̣, a short descending oblique intersected by another stroke   [, two dots just above the line   9] ̣, an upright joined from the left at the top: π, ι   10] ̣, a high speck and the end of a crossbar joining an upright at midline level   ̣[, an upright with a curved stroke extending from near its top to join another upright on the edge: π or possibly ιτ   11] ̣, a high trace: γ, κ, ϲ, or τ

Fr. 3

```
        .      .      .                    .      .      .      .
   ] . κ̣ιοιϲιε̇ν πεϲ . [              ] . κειοιϲιν ἐπεϲτ̣[
   ]νωχελεα̣ι̇ϲκ[                     ] νωχελέεϲ κ[
   ]ταιϲκοτιηϲι[                     ]ται ϲκοτίηϲι[
   ]κτηϲιοϲαμφ[                      ] κτήϲιοϲ ἀμφ[
5  ]η̣τεβιη τ̣ε̣ π̇επ . [           5  ]η τε βίη τε πεπυ[
      ]θελον[                           ]θελον[
      ]πραπ . [                         ] πραπί[δ
      ] . πολυμ[                        ] . πολυμ[
      ]ενουϲι . [                       ]ενουϲι . [
10    ]διϲϲαϲ[                    10    ]διϲϲαϲ[
      ]βαλα . [                         ]βαλα . [
      ] . εν ζ . [                      ] . εν ζ . [
         ]η̣[                              ]η̣[
        .      .      .                    .      .      .      .
```

1] . , part of a low arc or descending oblique slightly below the base-line . [, the descender of τ, υ, or ι   5 . [, a high sharply descending oblique   7 . [, the lower part of an upright   8] . , a trace just above the line   μ[, traces suggesting the left-hand side   9 . [, a high speck on the edge   11 . [, the left-hand side of μ or ν   12] . , an upright: ι or ν   . [, a trace at mid-line level

Fr. 4

```
      .      .      .                  .      .      .
   η . [                            η . [
   μυ[                             μυ[
    . νϲκ[ . ] . [ . ] . [          ενϲκ[ . ] . [ . ] . [
    . ϋτεπερ[                       ἠϋτε περ [
5  αιε . . ενκ . [               5  αιε . . ενκ . [
   οππτεμ[                         ὁππότε μ[
   μ̣[ . .]η . . . [                μ̣[ . .]η . . . [
    . [                             . [
   οϲ[                             οϲ[
10 δα[                          10 δα[
      .      .      .                  .      .      .
```

1 ̣[, perhaps the upper left-hand corner of υ   3 ̣, perhaps the upper left-hand corner of ε]̣[, a descender: ρ, τ, υ, or φ   ] ̣[, a low speck   4 ̣, a crossbar at mid-level   5 ̣ ̣, an upright; after a gap, a mid-line trace meeting an upright: μ or η   ̣[, a trace of a long descender   7 . . .[, high specks   8 ̣[, two specks, then part of an upright (?)

Fr. 5   Fr. 6

.   .   .   .

δειν[δειν[   ]η[̣ ̣] ̣[   ]η[̣ ̣] ̣[
ερκε ̣[ἔρκε ̣[   ]μερων[   ]μερων[
τοιο ̣[τοῖος ̣[   ] ̣α⟦ⁱ⟧οντε[   ] ̣εοντε[
νιοθ ̣[νειόθ ̣[   ] ̣χθονιδ[   ]ν χθονὶ δ[
5   δε ̣[δε ̣[5   ] ̣πραπιδ[   ] ̣ πραπίδ[
η̆το ̣[ἤ το ̣[   ] ̣ϲουδε ̣[   ]οϲ οὐδε ̣[
ιδ̣ειν[ἰδειν[   ]ινεϲιθι[   ]ινεϲιθι[
τωτ'ε ̣[τω τ' ἐ ̣[   ]εδαω ̣[δ]εδαῶτ[
ηεκα ̣[ἠὲ καὶ [   ]αϲελυϲα[   ]αϲελυϲα[
                                10]αιγληεντ[   ] αἰγληεντ[
                                     ]υϲδεδομ[   ]υϲδε δομ[
                                     ]ϲοιτεφ ̣ ̣[   ]ϲοι τεφ ̣ ̣[
                                     ]βαλ ̣α̈[] ̣[   ]β̣αλ ̣α̈[] ̣[

Fr. 5

2 ̣[, three small traces: α or ο   3 ̣[, traces in the lower part of the line suggesting ϲ or ε 4 ̣[, a low trace, perhaps a slanting upright   5 ̣[, a speck on the line with further traces on the damaged surface to the right   6 ̣[, a low speck   8 ̣[, a trace on damaged surface, perhaps the right-hand side of a rounded letter   9 ̣[, a tall upright

Fr. 6

1] ̣[, on the line, the foot of an ascending oblique followed by another trace: λ or ν   3] ̣, an upright on the edge   α⟦ⁱ⟧, the horizontal cancel stroke touches α on the right: ⟦αι⟧ may be intended 4] ̣, an upright with a stroke extending to the right at the foot   5] ̣, a high speck   6] ̣, apparently ο made out of ω   ̣[, the lower part of an ascending oblique   8 ̣[, a high slightly curved horizontal with the end of a descender to the right: τ or υ   12 ̣ ̣[, the end of a crossbar (ε?) joining an upright low in the line   13 ̣α, a small round letter, perhaps ε or θ   ] ̣[, a small high trace, then an upright

Fr. 7   Fr. 8

.   .   .   .
]..[   ]..[   ].αν.[   ]παν.[
]..βρι.[   ]..βρια[   ].ρικικλησκ[   ].ρι κικλησκ[− ×]
]δρεϲϲ.[ἄν]δρεϲϲι[   ]ιϲλαπιθηϲιν[   ]ιϲ Λαπίθηϲιν
]δροτητ[ἀν]δροτῆτ[   ].ενταυροιϲ [   ] Κενταύροιϲ
5   ].νκαιδ[   ].ν καὶ δ[5   ]ταοππστεϊ.[   ]τα ὁππότε ἰδ[×]
]υϲητ.[   ]υϲητ.[   ]ε̣μελαθρω[   ]ε μελάθρω[
]οιϲδετ[   ]οιϲιδετ[   ]..[   ]..[
]επιτα[   ]ἐπιτα[.   .   .   .
].τ̇ινε.[   ].ϲινε.[
10].αϲιοι.[   ].αϲιοι.[
]νενθα[   ]νενθα̣[
]υ[[μ]]οϲ[   ]υνοϲ[
].αν.[   ].αν.[
].[   ].[
.   .   .   .

Fr. 7

1].. [, a descender: ρ, τ, or υ; a low speck   2].., low traces; a short upright, perhaps ι   .[, the lower end of an ascending oblique   3 .[, an upright   5]., upright   6 .[, the foot of an upright   8 π, rubbed at the top left   9]., the cap of ϲ or ε   .[, the upper left-hand corner of τ or υ   10].α, obliques crossing with a blot on the left-hand side   .[, the left-hand side of ϲ, ε, or θ   13]., the right-hand side of δ or λ   .[, a trace of an upright at mid-line level   14].[, the top of an upright

Fr. 8

1].., a high speck followed by an upright   .[, an upright   2]., a high stroke joining ρ on the left: perhaps ε   4]., the top of an ascending oblique   5 .[, a triangular letter with a thickening at the apex: δ or α   7]..[, a high arc, open on the right: ϲ or ε; a speck

Fr. 9

```
   .    .    .    .              .    .    .    .
                ]ν[                        ]ν . [
              κτ
            ]η . [ . ]⟦χ⟧o[              ]η . [ . ]κτο[
        ]ενεϲ . . [ . ]ν . αβ[        ]ενεϲ . . [ . ]ν . αβ[
        ]κερηπουλυ . [              ]κερη πουλυ . [
              οντι
   5    ]δ⟦εϲθαι⟧[ ]και[      5    ]δοντι και [
            τ’
        ]οδ’αλλ[ ]ω . . [          ]οτ’ ἀλλ[ ]ω . . [
        ] . πολλο[ . ]εν . [        ]ᾳ πολλο[ . ] εν . [
        ]ντεφιλ[ . ]ν[              ]ντε φιλ[ . ]ν [
   .    .    .    .    .        .    .    .    .    .
```

1 . [, a raised rounded letter: ο or perhaps ε   2 . [, a spot of ink at mid-line level   3 . . [, a descender: ρ, τ, or υ; a low trace   ν . , low trace   4 . . [, perhaps traces of an arc: ϲ or ο   6 . . [, a forward-sloping upright thickened at the top: ν or λ; an oblique meeting a crossbar on the line: α, δ, or ω   7] . , a descending oblique   . [, a rounded letter: ο, ϲ, or ε

Fr. 10   Fr. 11

```
   .    .    .    .    .    .              .    .    .
 ] . εο . ποϲον[   ] . ε ὁππόϲον [     ] . τιμ . [
         εν            εν
 ]αταϲ⟦ρ⟧ηδο[  ]αταϲ⟦ρ⟧ηδο[        ] . εινον[
 ]αγεκει . . [   ]αγεκει . . [          ]ϲϲατ’α[
   .    .    .    .    .    .              ]υϲογε[
                                 5    ] . . ϲεων[
                                           ] . . [
                                           ] . ο[
                                        .    .    .
```

Fr. 10

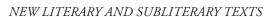1] . . , anomalous: perhaps a squashed ε or ϲ with a trace on the line before   . , the foot of a slanting upright and a further upright with a trace of a high horizontal   2 *s.l.* . , anomalous: perhaps a cursive ε cancelled by a high bar   3 . . [, a high descending oblique; perhaps the upper left-hand arc of a circle

Fr. 11

1] . . , a descender: ρ, τ, or υ   . [, the foot of a slanting upright   2] . , a high speck   4 ε[, the left-hand arc of a circle with a stroke emerging at mid-line level   5] . . , an abraded upright, apparently thickened at letter-top level and on the line (ϲ?); a high arc: ε, ο, or ϲ   6] . . [, a descending oblique with a stroke emerging on the right at mid-line level: λ or α; a rounded letter with a medial bar: ε or θ   7] . , a loop with an upright on the left: ρ or possibly β

Fr. 12   Fr. 13   Fr. 14

```
        ·   ·              ·    ·    ·        ·     ·          ·       ·
     ] . . [            ] . . [          ]τη . . [          ] . ύρν[
     ]οι . [            ]οι . [          ] . ελευ . [        ] . ζ[
     ]ϵϲφϵτ[            ]ϵ ϲφϵτ[ϵρ       ] . . αττ . [        ·       ·
     ] . οροʹβ . [       ]φοροι β . [      ] . ϵ . τ . [
  5  ] . ϲαντϵ[         ] . ϲαντϵ[     5      ]τ̇[
     ]ϲδϵπέρι[          ]ϲδϵ πυρι[              ·    ·
        μϵν . .            μϵν . .
     ] . ϵ . . τρϵ[       ] . ϵ . . τρϵ[
     ] . . [ . . ] . κ . [  ] . . [ . . ] . κ . [
     ] . [ . . . . ] . [    ] . [ . . . . ] . [
        ·    ·    ·         ·    ·    ·
```

Fr. 12

1] . . [, the lower part of a descender: ρ, τ, or υ; the lower left-hand corner of α, δ, or ω   2 . [, the lower left-hand corner of α or δ   4] . , a low loop with a trace above, perhaps β or φ   The second o is made out of ω   [, the lower left-hand corner of α or δ   5] . , a long descender: perhaps ρ or υ 7] . , the end of an oblique meeting an upright at its foot, perhaps υ   . . τ, two high obliques meeting (υ?); a medial trace   *s.l.* υ . . , a low speck; a medial horizontal stroke   *s.l.* . [, an upright on the edge 8 *s.l.* . , a high bar, perhaps τ   ] . . , low and high specks; damaged traces: α rather than δ   ] . , a pair of uprights: η?   . [, the left-hand arc of a circle   9] . [, perhaps the left-hand side of μ   ] . [, a long descender perhaps with a stroke extending rightwards from the top: ρ or ι

Fr. 13

1 . . [, the lower left-hand arc of a circle with a short ascending oblique to its left (λ?); the lower left-hand corner of ϵ, α, or δ   2] . , horizontal strokes at letter-top level and on the line with the right-hand arc of a circle in the middle, abraded on the right: anomalous   . [, the left-hand side of o or ϲ   3] . . , a descender: ρ, τ, or υ; an upright and a short horizontal meeting near the base line   . [, a low speck   4] . , perhaps the upper branch of κ   τ, a slanting upright with a gently descending oblique extending from near the top: υ or η   . [, high in the line, the lower left-hand arc of a circle   5]τ[, an upright with a crossbar extending on either side at the top   *s.l.* . [, a small circle: o?
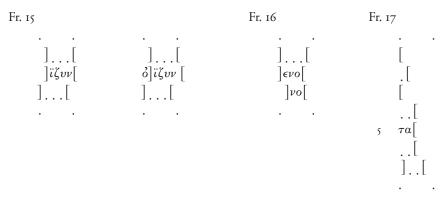
Fr. 14

1] . . , an upright, perhaps with the end of a crossbar at the top: π?   *s.l.* . . , perhaps an acute accent 2] . . , a raised upright

Fr. 15   Fr. 16   Fr. 17

```
      .    .                .    .                .    .              .    .
    ] . . . [            ] . . . [              ] . . . [           [
    ]ϊζυν[              ὸ]ϊζυν [              ]ενο[               . [
    ] . . . [            ] . . . [              ]νο[              [
      .    .                .    .                .    .            . . [
                                                            5    τα[
                                                                 . . [
                                                                 ] . . [
                                                                   .    .
```

Fr. 15

　　1] . . . [, a low arc; the feet of two uprights close to each other; the foot of a slanting upright meeting the lower right-hand arc of a circle: perhaps β　　　3] . . . [, the end of a gently ascending oblique; the top of an upright; a high horizontal

Fr. 16

　　1] . . . [, an ascending oblique with an upright on the right, perhaps μ; the end of a high arc with a medial trace; an ascending oblique

Fr. 17

　　2 . [, a speck　　　　4 . . [, low specks　　　6 . . [, a trace on the line; a leftward-slanting upright; a thick low trace　　　7] . . [, perhaps an upright; an ascending oblique

Fr. 1

　　'… rightly (?) promised … in the life-warming sun's beams … once again when punisher … all overcome … dwell and the lowest … in anxieties … in their minds nor on altars … being very foolish … whose mind was firm … the blessed gods …'

Fr. 8

　　'… all … call … Lapiths … Centaurs … when … house …'

Fr. 1

　　Some person or group was promised resurrection after punishment (1–3), while others (?) stay in the lowest depths (5). Some foolishly (showed no respect to some divinity?), but those of sound mind (respected him or her?), and (were rewarded by?) the blessed gods (7–10). Much in these lines remains unclear. There may be a verb in the second person singular or first person plural at 11.

　　1 κατέν[ε]υϲε. The same verb is used in a prima facie similar context at Bion fr. 8.8–9 εἰ δὲ θεοὶ κατένευϲαν ἕνα χρόνον ἐϲ βίον ἐλθεῖν | ἀνθρώποιϲ, καὶ τόνδε βραχὺν καὶ μείονα πάντων (WBH). We expect here too (1) an indirect object, (2) a subject, unless this is understood from what precedes, and (3) an infinitive.

　　(1) The indirect object may be placed either in 1 or at the beginning of 2. If it stood in 1, we could have e.g. ἡρώων, οἶϲί]ν τε δίκη (WBH). If e.g. ἀνδράϲιν (WBH) stood at the start of 2, we could have ἔ]ν τε δίκη or ϲύ]ν τε δίκη (GBD'A) in 1.

　　(2) The singular subject could be Zeus: cf. e.g. *Il.* 1.514–30. Κρ[ονίων] (GBD'A) might then be

considered at the end of 1, but it seems unlikely to suit the traces: ρ should descend well below the line. Δίκη is another possibility (e.g. with cύ]ν as a preverb in tmesis, as GBD'A suggests); but it would be hard to parallel. Cf. perhaps *AP* 8.141.2 (Greg. Naz.) τίϲ τάδ' ἔνευϲε δίκη; (CM).

(3) A future infinitive is expected, though the aorist is used in the Bion passage. We could have e.g. τέρψεϲθαι at the start of 3 (WBH).

2 ἠελί]ου … ἀκτίνεϲϲ[ιν]. Cf. A. R. 4.126 ἠελίου φλογερῇϲιν ἐρεύθεται ἀκτίνεϲϲιν.

ζωθαλπέοϲ. The adjective ζωθαλπήϲ occurs elsewhere only in Nonn. (*D.* 1.454 ζωθαλπέι λαιμῷ, 16.397 ζωθαλπέεϲ Ὧραι), but compounds in -θαλπήϲ are attested from Homer onwards, e.g. *Il.* 17.549 χειμῶνοϲ δυϲθαλπέοϲ. WBH notes that ζω- would be pointed if the passage is concerned with a return to the world of the living.

3 ποινητορ[. The scribe seems at first to have written πην, repeating the previous syllable. ποινήτωρ is common in Nonnus, and is always found in this metrical *sedes* in the *Dionysiaca*. Tragedy has the form ποινάτωρ (A. *Ag.* 1281, E. *El.* 23, 268) and Opp. 420 ποινητήρ. But the trace of the last letter is minute, and ποινὴ το ̣[(e.g. τόν) is not excluded (GBD'A). The reference may be to punishments inflicted *post mortem*: cf. Pind. *Ol.* 2.57–8 θανόντων μὲν ἐνθάδ' αὐτίκ' ἀπάλαμνοι φρένεϲ | ποινὰϲ ἔτειϲαν.

4]κηϲ. δί]κηϲ (GBD'A) is an obvious supplement in the context. CM suggests νί]κηϲ πέρι, comparing Hes. *Th.* 647 νίκηϲ καὶ κάρτεοϲ πέρι μαρνάμεθ', but victory is not clearly relevant.

περι: πέρι, with the preceding genitive, seems hard to avoid. περὶ πάντα is found already in Sol. fr. 27.11 περὶ πάντα καταρτύεται νόοϲ ἀνδρόϲ, but 'concerning everything' could not be accommodated easily in this sentence.

5 ναίειν. The construction is not clear. The infinitive is unlikely to go with κατέν[ε]υϲε (1): the present tense would be surprising.

β[.] ̣[: e.g. β[έ]ν[θεα (CM, WBH).

6 ἐ]νὶ κήδεϲιν (CM) is likely at the start. If the supralinear correction is wrong, Κήρεϲιν may be worth considering. What follows appears to be corrupt. GBD'A wonders whether it may conceal a form of the aorist passive of τρέφω.

7 At the start, GBD'A suggests e.g. ἀλλά μιν (Hades?) οὔ τι τίουϲιν], with the subject given in the next line. WBH notes that a past tense, e.g. οὐδὲν ἔτιον] (*Od.* 22.370), may be more likely if ἦεν stood at the end of 9.

ἐπὶ βωμοῖϲ: also at *Orac. Sib.* 8.113; ἱεροῖϲ ἐπὶ βωμοῖϲ *Od.* 3.273, Hes. *Op.* 136.

8 ἁμαρτίνοοι: first in Hes. *Th.* 511; see West's note.

9] οἷϲιν: or τ]οῖϲιν (both WBH).

νόοϲ ἔμπεδοϲ ἦεν: cf. *Il.* 11.813 νόοϲ γε μὲν ἔμπεδοϲ ἦεν, Q. S. 14.192 τῖε δ' ἀμύμοναϲ ἄνδραϲ ὅϲοιϲ νόοϲ ἔμπεδόϲ ἐϲτιν. The reading before correction seems to have been ἔμπεϲε δ' ἡμῖ[ν; the third ε has been left uncorrected, but the neuter ἐμπεδέϲ can hardly be right. ἐμπεδήϲ is found only in Trag. Adesp. 208 ἐμπεδὴϲ ⟨δὲ⟩ γαμόροϲ | ⟨ἔ⟩μαρψεν Ἅιδηϲ.

10 E.g. ἔρρεξαν δέ μιν] εὖ μάκαρεϲ θ[εοὶ αἰὲν ἐ]ό[ντεϲ (WBH).

11] ̣λεομεν[: prima facie a verb in the first person plural. E.g. (-)]ώλεο is another possibility.

Fr. 2

1]οϲον. Perhaps ὅϲον. The supralinear ον is probably an addition: if the aim had been to correct οϲ to ον, it would have sufficed to write ν above ϲ (cf. 6). But it is possible that]ον is the end of a longer addition or correction.
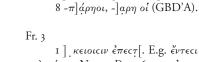
διεμέτ[ρε: -ε(ν) or -ον (e.g. *Il.* 3.315, Q. S. 12.136).

2] ̣πνοιομ[: κ]απνοῖο? (GBD'A).

4 δεινη[: the adjective, or ει may represent long ι.

5]νατων μα[: e.g. ἀθα]νάτων μα[κάρων, as in Hes. *Op.* 706; cf. fr. 1.10 μάκαρες θ[εοί.

8 -π]άρηοι, -]ạρη οἱ (GBD'A).

Fr. 3

1]ˌκειοιcιν ἐπεcτ̣[. E.g. ἔντεcι χα]λκείοιcιν ἐπεcτ̣[ρατόωντο (CM): cf. [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.67 χείλεcι χαλκείοιcι, Nonn. *D.* 1.267 etc. ἐπεcτρατόωντο.

3 cκοτίηcι[: cκοτίη in some case.

4] κτήcιος may be the adjective (often an epithet of Zeus in his role of protector of the household and property: LSJ s.v. II), or the genitive singular of κτῆcιc.

5]η τε βίη τε: nominative or dative. Cf. *Il.* 9.498 ἀρετὴ τιμή τε βίη τε, 23.578 ἀρετῇ τε βίη τε. πεπυ̣[. Perhaps πεπυ̣[ργω-, 'protected' (WBH), with datives before.

6]θελον[. Either some form of (ἐ)θέλειν or possibly an aorist of αἱρεῖν,]θ' ἑλον[(-).

10]διccαc[. The most obvious interpretation is]διccάc[.

Fr. 4

3 ενcκ[.]ˌ[.]ˌ[. Possibly ἐν cκ[ο]τ̣[- (cf. fr. 3.3).

5 αιεˌˌενκˌ[: e.g. αἰεὶ μὲν κˌ[.

Fr. 5

1 δειν[: cf. fr. 2.4 n.

4 νειόθι or νειόθε[ν.

7 ἰδειν[: apparently the dative singular of ἶδοc or εἶδοc.

Fr. 6

2 τρο]μερῶν, τρο]μερῷ ν[? (GBD'A).

4]ν̣ χθονὶ δ[. E.g. ἐ]ν̣ χθονὶ δ[ίη (Hes. *Th.* 866) or πέλαcα]ν̣ (*vel sim.*) χθονί (*Il.* 14.435, Hes. fr. 165.16 M.–W.).

7]ινεcιθι[. E.g. (-)ιν̣εcι θῑ[να.

8 δ]εδαῶτ̣[. As elision is not marked,]ε δ' ἀωτ̣[is unlikely.

9]αcε λυcα[or]αc ἐλυcα[.

11]υc δέ or το]ύcδε perhaps followed by δόμοc or δομαῖοc in some case.

Fr. 7

2 βρια[: a form of βριαρόc, βριάω, or Βριαρεύc? (GBD'A).

4 ἀν]δροτῆτ̣[. ἀνδροτήc occurs in *Il.* 16.857, 22.363, 24.6, but nowhere else in epic.

Fr. 8

Line-ends: note the blank space at the end of 4. That line is an example of the less common type of cπονδειάζων, with a trisyllable at the end, and 5 has hiatus at the bucolic caesura, which is found only rarely in Hellenistic hexameters. For Hellenistic parallels, see West, *Greek Metre* 154 with n. 48 and 156.

3–4 The battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs might have been used as an exemplum to illustrate a point, or it might be the subject of the narrative. The story is alluded to infrequently in Greek epic: *Od.* 21.295–304, [Hes.] *Sc.* 178–90, A. R. 1.41–3, 59–64, [Orph.] *Arg.* 170–74, 415–18. The battle is the subject of at least two of the fragments of hexameters published as LXIX **4714** (assigned to the third century), but the present text has no obvious connection with those fragments.

5 ἰδ̣[. E.g. ἴδ̣[ρις or another word that originally had an initial digamma: see West, *Greek Metre* 156.

Fr. 9

4]κερη πουλυ ̣ [. E.g. γλυ]κερή.

7]α πολλο[̣]. E.g. μάλ]α πολλό[ν] (*Il.* 9.398 etc.). Ἄπολλο[ν] is less likely: the vocative only occurs at the end of the line in epic.

Fr. 10

1] ̣ ε ὁππόϲον [. For the hiatus (at the bucolic caesura?), cf. fr. 8.5.

Fr. 11

WBH notes that these may be line-beginnings, with 2] κ̣εῖνον[, 3 [ὅ]ϲϲα τ᾽ ἀ[-, 4 [το]ὺϲ ὅ γε̣ [, 5 -οϲ ἐών [.

Fr. 12

4]φοροι β ̣ [. E.g. ϲκηπτρο]φόροι βα̣[ϲιλῆεϲ corrected from ϲκηπτρο]φόρῳ βα̣[ϲιλῆι.

6 περι and πυρι are often confused: cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 694 and his *Studies in Aeschylus* (1990) 150.

S. SLATTERY

5412. Hellenistic or Imperial Hexameters

27 3B.45/D(1–4)d   6.0 × 4.5 cm (fr. 1), 5.6 × 1.9 cm (fr. 2)   Third century
                                                                                 Plate 000

Two small fragments with the writing running along the fibres. The hand is a small- to medium-sized and rather informal specimen of the Severe Style, leaning slightly to the right. It can be comfortably assigned to the third century. No margins are preserved, except for a few millimetres of the left-hand margin in parts of fr. 1. Initial iota is given a diaeresis (fr. 1.4, 9), and elision of δέ before it is marked by an apostrophe, but elsewhere elision is not indicated (fr. 2.2, 4). The back is blank.

The first fragment preserves the beginnings of hexameters, with only lines 2–4 extending beyond the medial caesura. In it, various birds and perhaps elements of the landscape (cf. 8) lament Itys in a typical instance of the 'pathetic fallacy'. The smaller fr. 2 contains the middle parts of five verses and refers to a mourning female figure, who may or may not be Itys' mother Procne. There is no way of telling which fragment came first. The letter-sequences preserved in fr. 2 do not seem to belong to the same verses as the line-beginnings of fr. 1, but there may have been some overlap towards the bottom, where only a few letters survive in fr. 1. The poet makes conspicuous use of asyndeton (fr. 1.2–3 n.) and alliteration (fr. 1.2, 3, fr. 2.3 nn.).

Fr. 1 bears remarkable similarities to the *Lament for Bion* (*EB*), an anonymous hexameter poem in bucolic Doric lamenting the death of the poet Bion and closely based on Bion's own *Lament for Adonis* (*EA*). It probably dates from the early first century BC, but was falsely attributed to Moschus in the Renaissance. The 'pathetic fallacy' (cf. J. L. Buller, *Ramus* 10 (1981) 35–52), first attested in Greek literature in the poetry of Theocritus and Bion, is taken to new extremes in this poem, as virtually every element of both animate and inanimate nature is made to lament for the dead poet. Particular emphasis is laid on the lament of various birds, including swans, nightingales, and swallows. *EB* and **5412** both use a string of synonyms for the verb 'to lament' or 'to weep' with different subjects of a particular class (*EB* 1–3 elements of the landscape, 26–30 gods or mythological figures, 37–48 birds, 86–92 cities).

One notable characteristic of *EB* is that it often alludes, verbatim or indirectly, to the work of Bion; see V. Mumprecht, *Epitaphios Bionos* (Diss. Bern 1964) 38–43; F. P. Manakidou, *MD* 37 (1997) 41–57; J. D. Reed, *Bion of Smyrna: The Fragments and the Adonis* (1997) 26–31. The Ionic dialect of **5412** would seem to exclude the possibility of Bionic authorship: all of Bion's surviving fragments and *EA* are in late bucolic Doric, a stylized and less heavily marked version of Theocritus' poetic dialect. For the doubtful attribution to Bion of a hexameter fragment in Ionic, see H. Bernsdorff, *Das Fragmentum Bucolicum Vindobonense* (1999) 32–41. If **5412** is an imitation of *EB* rather than its model, it would attest to the diffusion and influence of this work in the Imperial period, in line with presumed echoes in Vergil and Nonnus; see e.g. W. Clausen, *A Commentary on Virgil: Eclogues* (1994) General Index s.v. [Moschus], and Mumprecht, *Epitaphios Bionos* 30–32.

I am grateful to Giambattista D'Alessio and Ben Henry for their suggestions, acknowledged in the notes by their initials.
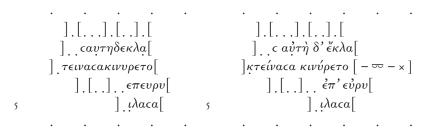
NEW LITERARY AND SUBLITERARY TEXTS

Fr. 1

    .   .   .   .
    ..]ω..[[..]ω..[
    ..]κνοιεκωκ[..]αντοχελ̣[[κύ]κνοι ἐκωκ[ύϲ]αντο, χελ[ιδόνεϲ – ⏖ – ×]
    .] λκιδεϲε..[.]ναχηϲανα[[χ]α̣λκίδεϲ ἐϲ̣τ̣[ο]νάχηϲαν, ἀ[ηδόνεϲ – ⏖ – ×]
    .]δυροντοδ᾿ϊτυνγοερ.[[ὠ]δύροντο δ᾿ Ἴτυν γοερ.[⏖ – ⏖ – ×]
5   εκτανενηλε...[5   ἔκτανε νηλέϊ χ[αλκῷ ⏑ – ⏖ – ⏖ – ×]
    καιεγυνη.[καί ἑ γυνὴ.[
    ].ϲοιμενϲ.[ὣϲ οἳ μὲν ϲτ[ενάχοντο ⏑ – ⏖ – ⏖ – ×]
    .ενδρεαχα[δένδρεα χα[
    .αυτηδ᾿ϊ.[κ̣αὐτὴ δ᾿ ϊ.[
10 ..].[.].ινα.[10 [..].[.].ινα.[
    .....]α̣..[[.....]α̣..[
    .   .   .   .

1 ..[, the foot of an upright, then specks on the edge   3]., a horizontal touching the first leg of λ near the line-level   ..[, the upper curve of ε or ϲ touching a long horizontal level with the letter-tops   4]δ, the junction of the base and right-hand oblique on a disturbed surface   .[, a thick trace at mid-height   5 ..[, the lower half of an upright, then the foot of an oblique ascending from left to right   6 .[, disturbed surface with apparently a horizontal level with the letter-tops 7]., a trace of ink at two-thirds height on broken surface, then a thick trace at the same level   .[, a descender   8 .ε, the end of a horizontal touching ε at the foot   9 .α, the arms of κ or χ   .[, a short upright on the edge   10].[, a small upper arc level with the letter-tops   ]., apparently a tiny right arc level with the letter-tops   .[, the foot of an upright   11 ..[, a horizontal at mid-height, then a perpendicular junction at the top right

Fr. 2

    .   .   .   .
    ].[...].[..].[   ].[...].[..].[
    ]..ϲαυτηδεκλα[   ]..ϲ αὐτὴ δ᾿ ἔκλα[
    ].τειναϲακινυρετο[   ]κτείναϲα κινύρετο [– ⏖ – ×]
    ].[..]..επευρυ[   ].[..]..ἐπ᾿ εὐρυ[
5   ]..ιλαϲα[5   ].ιλαϲα[
    .   .   .   .

1]..[, a small trace on the edge   ].[, a dot on the edge   ].[, the foot of an upright   2]..., part of a horizontal or upper arc level with the letter-tops; a small upper arc   υ, a trace on broken surface suggesting the bowl of υ   3]., two obliques like the arms of κ (not χ)   4]., a trace level with the letter-tops on a fragment attached by a single fibre   ]..., a small upper arc; after a lacuna, the top of a thick upright   5]., a small horizontal trace near the line-level

Fr. 1

'… the swans wailed, the swallows [lamented?], the *chalkis*-birds groaned, [the nightingales] …, and they were lamenting Itys … [whom his mother once] killed with the ruthless [bronze] … and him the woman/wife … Thus did they (the birds) lament … the [leafy?] trees … and she herself also …'

Fr. 2

'… and she herself wept … she sobbed … on the wide …'

Fr. 1

2 [κύ]κνοι. [πυ]κνοί seems less likely: lines 2–3 appear to contain a series of bird-names each followed by a verb of lamentation. An adjective could not agree with the feminine χελ[ιδόνες, but would have to qualify a noun in the previous line. For lamenting swans, cf. *EB* 14–18 *C*τρυμόνιοι μύρεσθε παρ' ὕδασιν αἴλινα κύκνοι κτλ. Mourning girls are compared to singing swans in A. R. 4.1300–302.

ἐκωκ[ύς]αντο. The middle is relatively rare; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 1222 (future), Alc. Mess. (*c.* 200 BC) *AP* 7.412.1 = *HE* 82 (present), Q. S. 2.591 (aorist, περικωκύσαντο). In epic and tragedy, the verb is always used of women, according to LSJ. Note the alliteration in κ and υ in [κύ]κνοι ἐκωκ[ύς]αντο, to which compare A. R. 4.1301 κύκνοι κινήσουσιν ἑὸν μέλος.

At verse-end, one may supply e.g. ἀντήχησαν (GBD'A) or ἐθρήνησαν (cf. *EB* 39 θρήνησεν … χελιδών). WBH proposes ἐκλαύσαντο (cf. *AP* 7.412.5, following κωκύεται in 1), which would result in an internal rhyme with ἐκωκ[ύς]αντο, perhaps corresponding with ἐςτ[ο]νάχησαν and [ἀντήχησαν] in the next line; cf. Theoc. 7.62 ὥρια πάντα γένοιτο, καὶ εὔπλοος ὅρμον ἵκοιτο (with Hunter ad loc.), 24.9 ὄλβιοι εὐνάζοισθε καὶ ὄλβιοι ἀῶ ἵκοισθε. The verb is used of birds at *Od.* 16.216 κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως, ἁδινώτερον ἤ τ' οἰωνοί.

2–3 χελ[ιδόνες … ἀ[ηδόνες. For the association of lamenting swallows and nightingales, cf. *EB* 38–9, 46–9; cf. also 9–11 (nightingales alone).

The asyndeton in these lines is like that in Theoc. 7.141ff. ἄειδον κόρυδοι καὶ ἀκανθίδες, ἔςτενε τρυγών κτλ., called 'accumulated asyndeton' in Dover's note ad loc. For Bion's predilection for asyndeton, see Reed on Bion fr. 1.2.

3 [χ]αλκίδες ἐςτ[ο]νάχησαν. There is perhaps intentional alliteration in χ/κ.

[χ]αλκίδες. A Homeric *hapax* in *Il.* 14.291 ἔνθ' ἧςτ' (sc. Ὕπνος) ὄζοισιν πεπυκασμένος εἰλατίνοισιν | ὄρνιθι λιγυρῇ ἐναλίγκιος, ἥν τ' ἐν ὄρεσσι | χαλκίδα κικλήςκουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ κύμινδιν; see Janko ad loc., correcting D'A. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (²1936) 186–7, and W. G. Arnott, *Birds in the Ancient World from A to Z* (2007) 27. Unlike the other three birds mentioned in these lines, the *chalkis* is not elsewhere associated with lamentation, but Hans Bernsdorff suggests that the poet may have in mind the story of Harpalyce, which has several parallels with Procne's: she was transformed into a *chalkis* after she murdered her younger brother and served him up to their father (Parth. *Erotika Pathemata* 13.3–4; Euph. *SH* 413.12–17).

ἀ[ηδόνες. For verbs that may be supplied at the end of the line, see above, 2 n. It is less likely that ἀ[ηδονίδες stood here without bucolic caesura and followed by e.g. μύροντο (a *spondeiazon* ending with a trisyllabic word is rare) or μινύριζον (GBD'A). As WBH points out, ideally 'we require aorists throughout the parallel clauses in 2–3 for consistency (the lamentation being viewed as a single event)'.

4–6 The myth of the death of Itys and of his mother's lamentation in the form of a metamorphosed nightingale is commonplace, but extended poetic narratives are rare outside drama, the only elaborate account being Ovid's in *Met.* 6.424–674. Our poet focuses on Procne's murder of her son and does not involve her sister Philomela in the act as some traditions do; cf. L. Coo, *TAPA* 143 (2013) 368–70. On treatments of the myth, see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (1993) 239–41; P. M. C. Forbes Irving, *Metamorphosis*

in Greek Myths (1990) 248–9; P. J. Finglass, *ZPE* 200 (2016) 61–85. The idea that a plurality of birds and possibly other elements of nature (cf. 8 n.) mourned Itys is novel. The context is unfortunately irretrievable. It is notable that the lamenting chorus includes those very birds into which Procne (nightingale) and Philomela (swallow) were eventually transformed. Since the summary in these lines does not mention the metamorphoses, the poet is perhaps anticipating the conclusion of the story by the inclusion of both birds in the mournful chorus of lines 2–3.

4 [ὠ]δύροντο. Presumably all the aforementioned birds are the subject of this verb. Note the break of the asyndeton and the change of tense.

γοερο[ί, γοερό[ν, γοερα[ί, γοερᾶ [, γοερῷ [, or γοερῷ[ς. Too little remains of the final letter to decide between these possibilities. The adjective is first used of persons in the sense of 'wailing, lamenting' in Euripides. It is said of nightingales in Call. *H.* 5.94 γοερᾶν οἶτον ἀηδονίδων; see Bulloch ad loc. for other poetic examples of γόος applied to the nightingale's song, and cf. Heliodorus 5.2.6 γοερὸν οἷον ἠρινῆς ἀηδόνος αἴλινον ᾠδὴν, *GDRK* VI fr. 1.48–9 ἀηδόνα γοεροςτ[ονοθρ]ηνολαλήμονα. The adverb is extremely rare before Late Antiquity. If the final trace corresponds to omicron, perhaps restore γοερὸ[ν μέλος (GBD'A), to which WBH compares Soph. *Tr.* 50–51 πανδάκρυτ' ὀδύρματα | τὴν Ἡράκλειον ἔξοδον γοωμένην (of Deianeira), Eur. *Hec.* 84 ἥξει τι μέλος γοερὸν γοεραῖς.

At the end of the line, probably the beginning of a relative clause like ὅν ποτε μήτηρ (GBD'A); cf. *Od.* 19.522, cited in the next note.

5 ἔκτανε νηλέϊ χ[αλκῷ. The poet no doubt has in mind *Od.* 19.522–3 παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένη (sc. Πανδαρέου κούρη … ἀηδών) Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὅν ποτε χαλκῷ | κτεῖνε δι' ἀφραδίας; cf. Ov. *Met.* 6.641 *ense ferit Procne*. For the phrase, cf. also *Od.* 4.743 κατάκτανε νηλέϊ χαλκῷ, [Hes.] fr. 23a.30 M.–W. κτεῖνε δὲ μητέρα [ἣν ὑπερήν]ορα νηλέϊ [χαλκῶι]. The formula νηλέϊ χαλκῷ is always placed at verse-end elsewhere. WBH notes that 'here the epithet is pointed: Procne showed no mercy in killing her son'.

For the second half of the line, WBH suggests e.g. ἐπεὶ μάθε πένθος ἀδελφῆς, 'when she learned of her sister's misfortune'.

6 καί ἑ γυνὴ   [. The pronoun presumably refers to Itys, and the woman is his mother Procne. Supply e.g. γυνὴ Τ[ηρῆος, although such a specification may not be necessary when the subject has not changed; for the genitive form, cf. Euph. *SH* fr. 414.13 Θρηικίου Τηρῆος, Nonn. *D.* 47.33, both in the same *sedes*. The rest of the line may have described how Procne served Itys as a meal to Tereus. WBH proposes e.g. καί ἑ γυνὴ π[ανάποτμος ἐθήκατο δαῖτα τοκῆϊ], 'the hapless lady made him into a meal for his father'.

7 ὣς οἱ μὲν ςτ[ενάχοντο (WBH) = *Il.* 23.1. The phrase resumes the main narrative after the inserted story of Itys' death.

8 Perhaps δένδρεα χα[ιτήεντα, as in Nonn. *D.* 26.186 (also at the beginning of the line). Are these trees joining in the lament? Compare Theoc. 7.74 ὡς δρύες αὐτὸν (sc. Δάφνιν) ἐθρήνευν, Bion *EA* 32, *EB* 3 νῦν φυτά μοι μύρεσθε καὶ ἄλςεα νῦν γοάοιςθε, 31–2 cᾧ δ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ | δένδρεα καρπὸν ἔριψε τὰ δ' ἄνθεα πάντ' ἐμαράνθη.

9 ḳαὐτὴ δ'. The pronoun may refer to (the metamorphosed?) Procne again, but a different subject is possible (cf. fr. 2).

ἰ ̣ [. ἰπ[π- or Ἰτ[π- (WBH)? Ἴτ[υν is obviously excluded by trace and metre.

Incorporating some of the suggestions in the notes, an *exempli gratia* reconstruction of lines 2–7 would look as follows:

[κύ]κνοι ἐκωκ[ύς]αντο, χελ[ιδόνες ἐκλαύςαντο,]
[χ]αλκίδες ἐςτ[ο]νάχηςαν, ἀ[ηδόνες ἀντήχηςαν,]

[ὦ]δύροντο δ᾽ Ἴτυν γοερὸ[ν μέλος, ὅν ποτε μήτηρ]

5   ἔκτανε νηλέϊ χ[αλκῷ, ἐπεὶ μάθε πένθος ἀδελφῆς,]

    καί ἑ γυνὴ Τ[ηρῆος ἐθήκατο δαῖτα τοκῆϊ.]

    ὣς οἱ μὲν ϲτ[ενάχοντο

'… the swans wailed, the swallows lamented, the *chalkis*-birds groaned, the nightingales sang in answer; and they were lamenting Itys with a mournful song, whom his mother once killed with the ruthless bronze when she learned of her sister's misfortune, and the wife of Tereus made him into a meal for his father. Thus did they lament …'

Fr. 2

    Metrical placement: third-foot caesura before αὐτή (2), κινύρετο (3), ἐπ᾽ (4).

    2 Either ἔκλα[υϲε(ν), in this position at Theoc. 1.72 λέων ἔκλαυϲε (sc. Δάφνιν) θανόντα, or ἔκλα[ιε(ν). The rhythm ἔκλα[υϲε(ν) ⏑ – ×] would be far preferable to ἔκλα[υϲεν – ×]; cf. West, *Greek Metre* 154. αὐτὴ δ᾽ ἔκλα[γεν – ×] would violate Naeke's Law and give a bipartite hexameter.

    3]κτείναϲα κινύρετο [. Note the alliteration in κ. If the reference is still to Procne, restore e.g. [παῖδα φίλον] κτείναϲα. But since the thumbnail sketch of the death of Itys in fr. 1.4–6 appears to be self-contained, the subject here is possibly different (the same as αὐτή in fr. 1.9?), and we may not have a reference to killing at all. Consider e.g. [χεῖρα δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐ]κτείναϲα, 'stretching out her hand' (WBH, comparing Aesch. *Ch.* 9 οὐδ᾽ ἐξέτεινα χεῖρ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐκφορᾷ νεκροῦ).

    4] . . The traces are compatible with]εν, possibly a verbal ending (GBD'A).

    εὐρυ[is probably part of the fourth foot: if it stood in the fifth, there would be a breach of Hermann's Bridge before ἐπ᾽. WBH suggests that ἐπ᾽ εὐρυ[could be a reference to a river, as in Euph. *SH* 413.10 ἐπ᾽ [ἐ]ὺρυρόῃ Αἴαντι (for another possible link between **5412** and this poem, see above, fr. 1.3 n.).

    5] . ιλαϲα[. In view of the apparent funerary context, GBD'A suggests restoring περιϲτ]είλαϲα. If this is correct, the subject cannot be Procne; cf. *Od.* 24.292–3 οὐδέ ἑ μήτηρ | κλαῦϲε περιϲτείλαϲα.

A. BENAISSA

5413. Homeric Cento on Daphne

46 5B.51/C(8–10)a   8.3 × 6.3 cm   Third century
                                                                    Plate 000

The title of the piece calls it a composition on Apollo's pursuit of Daphne and her meta-
morphosis; the text itself is a Homeric cento, with all the verses taken from the *Iliad*. The
sequence is forced, cohesion is sometimes absent altogether, and there are numerous mistakes
of various kinds. The composition is obviously an exercise. We find a title in a similar layout
in the acrostic ethopoeia L **3537** (see G. Agosti, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 1–5). The dates and inventory
numbers of **3537** (46 5B.51/E(1–2)b) and **5413** imply that they lay close to each other in the
same rubbish heap, so that it is conceivable that they have the same origin.

The ingredients of the composition are familiar. The story of Daphne was fairly popu-
lar in late antiquity, and the person who wrote this text was not the first to try their hand at
the subject of the story of Apollo and Daphne: cf. Dioscorus XLII 27 Heitsch = IV 41 Four-
net, an ethopoeia entitled Ἀπόλλω[ν Ὑ]α̣[κί]νθο[υ καὶ] Δάφν̣[η]ϲ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ | ε̣[ἰ]ϲ φ[υτὸν]
γενομέ[νων. See generally J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte de VIᵉ siècle* (1998) ii 651, with
references.

We know of only two other papyri containing centos, XXX **2512** + P. Köln III 127 (see
APF 57 (2011) 3–4) and the 'half-cento' XLII **3002**.

The text is written along the fibres. There is a sheet-join close to the right edge. The back
was reused for an account.

εἰϲ Δάφν̣[ην διω]κ̣ομέ[ν]ην ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλων̣[οϲ]
καὶ εἰϲ τὸ ὁ[μώνυμο]ν δένδρον μεταβεβλη-
μένην   ⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯⎯

        (*vac.*)

[. .] . . . . ευρον παρ' ἔμ' ἵϲταϲο καὶ ἴδεν ἔργον   *Il.* 17.179 = *Od.* 22.233
5 [Φοί]β̣ου Ἀπόλλωνοϲ καλλιϲφύρου εἵνεκα νύμφηϲ·   *Il.* 9.560
   [ἡ δέ] θ' ὕπα̣ι̣δα φοβεῖται, ὁ δ' ἐγγύθεν ὀξὺ λεληκὼϲ   *Il.* 22.141
   [τόξ'] ὤμοιϲιν ἔχων ἀμφηρεφέα τε φαρέτρην   *Il.* 1.45
   [ταρφ]έ' αἰπαΐϲϲει, ἐλέειν τέ ἑ θυμὸϲ ἀνώγει·   *Il.* 22.142
   [καρπ]αλίμωϲ ⟨δ' ἤϊξε⟩ διὰ δρ̣υ̣μὰ πυ̣κ̣ν̣ὰ̣ καὶ ὕλην   *Il.* 11.118
10 [παρθ]ένο̣ϲ αἰδοίη, ὑπερώϊον εἰϲαναβᾶ[ϲ]α̣·   *Il.* 2.514
   [οὔρε]ο̣ϲ ἐν βήϲηϲ ἔκ̣α̣θ⟦η⟧ε[ν . . . .] φ̣αινομένηφι   *Il.* 16.634 +
              ] . [. .] . [. . .] . [   ]η[
      .   .   .   .

4 ϊδεν; l. ἴδε   6 l. ὕπαιθα, ἐγγύθεν   8 αϊπαιϲϲει; l. ἐπαΐϲϲει   11 l. βήϲϲηϲ

'For Daphne, pursued by Apollo and transformed into the homonymous tree.
'… stand by my side, and look at the work
Of Phoebus Apollo for the sake of the fair-ankled maiden;
And she flees before him, but he from close-by with a shrill scream
Bearing on his shoulders his bow and close-covered quiver
Follows close after, and his heart orders him to seize her,
But swiftly ⟨she darts⟩ through the thick brush and the woodland
The revered maiden, when she entered the upper chamber,
In the mountain glens, and afar … appearing …'

1–3 See above, introd. para. 2. Cf. *Σ* D *Il.* 1.14 (ed. van Thiel) Ἀπόλλων … τὸ μὲν δένδρον ἀπὸ τῆς παρθένου δάφνην προσηγόρευϲεν ὁμωνύμωϲ; Sozomen. 5.19.6 μυθεύουϲι Δάφνην τὴν Λάδωνοϲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίαϲ φεύγουϲαν Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐραϲτὴν εἰϲ ὁμώνυμον αὐτῇ φυτὸν μεταβαλεῖν.

4 The beginning of the line is difficult to read, but probably contains a garbled version of the expected ἀλλ' ἄγε δεῦρο πέπον. The verse is found in the *Homerocentones* (I 2307, II 1168, 1902, β 615, γ 699 Schembra).

P. Köln III 127.7 reproduces *Il.* 9.527 μέμνημαι τ[όδε ἔργον ἐγὼ πάλαι, οὔ τι νέον γε (in this light, the possibility that the verse should be identified with *Od.* 24.122 appears less likely). *Il.* 9.527 starts a new section in the Cologne papyrus.

5 The original reference is to Marpessa.

6 ὕπαιδα: read ὕπαιθα. It is unclear whether the mistake is phonetic (the interchange θ > δ is not too common in documentary papyri; see Gignac, *Grammar* i 96) or due to the subconscious influence of παῖδα.

The transition is abrupt. The Homeric verse comes from a simile involving a hawk and a dove. It continues with the verse that occupies line 8 here.

7 In the *Iliad* too the subject is Apollo.

9 As the text would not have been copied, the omission is probably not a *saut du même au même*. The original reference is to a doe running from a lion. The first hemistich is found in the *Homerocentones* (I 210, II 83 (cf. M. Whitby, *ByzZ* 102 (2009) 812), 134, α 78, β 77, γ 78).

10 This verse also occurs in centos at *AP* 9.381.2 (Hero) and P. Köln III 127.8 and in the *Homerocentones* (II 96, 226, α 110, β 109, γ 110). In the *Iliad*, it refers to Astyoche.

11 The start of the line may be identified with *Il.* 16.634 οὔρεοϲ ἐν βήϲϲηϲ, ἕκαθεν δέ τε γίνετ' ἀκουή, which also comes from a simile. The writer replaced γίνετ' ἀκουή with φαινομένηφι (recognized by WBH), perhaps because of a memory slip.

N. GONIS

5414. *Iliad* 2.70–82 with Paraphrase and Coptic Translation

65 6B.39/C(2–3)b   7.8 × 22.8 cm   Sixth century
823 West   Plates 000

A fragment of a leaf of a papyrus codex. The first page (→) contains ends of Greek words with Coptic sequences on the right, while the second (↓) contains *Iliad* 2.77–82 written in a narrow column, with each verse marked off by a paragraphus and divided into single words or groups of words occupying a line each; the first letter of a second column is preserved to the right. The papyrus is broken at the foot. One or two lines are lost at the foot of → : see the commentary on the end of → ii. The upper margin is preserved on → to a depth of 3.2 cm (including the space occupied by the supralinear addition to line 1) and on ↓ to a depth of 3 cm. The outer margin is preserved to a width of 4.3 cm on ↓.

The reconstruction of the original size and content of the codex is based on three considerations. (1) The layout of the Homeric text on ↓ is typical of Homeric glossaries. (2) In several lines in → (e.g. 4, 15), Greek word-ends can be reconstructed as attested Homeric glosses matching the Coptic sequences on the right of the page. (3) The Coptic segments on → are not arranged in a clear-cut parallel column, but occupy what appears to be the original wide right-hand margin, matching the roughly equally wide left-hand margin on ↓, so that they sometimes appear rather crowded. Additions were made above the line at 1, 2, 4, and 15, due to the lack of space. In some cases, Greek and Coptic words are separated by a dicolon. Thus the Coptic glosses, although apparently written by the same hand (see below), seem to be an additional textual component of the codex, inserted at a later stage. It seems then that this was originally a two-column codex with generous upper, lower, and lateral margins: the first column contained the segmented Homeric text, while the second column contained a word-for-word prose paraphrase in the standard Greek of the koine. Little space appears to have been left between the first two columns: the first line of the paraphrase (col. ii) on the ↓ page begins further to the left than the ends of some of the longer lines lower down the page.

The ↓ page gives us the width of col. i and the margin to its left, and the → page as reconstructed the width of cols. ii–iii and the right-hand margin. By adding these figures, we obtain an approximate page-width of 18.5 cm. The original page-height was *c.* 26.5 cm. The codex may then be assigned to Turner's Group 5 (*Typology* 16–17). If each page of the codex contained on average six Homeric verses with accompanying paraphrase, the whole book with its 877 verses would have occupied about 146 pages.

The text is written in ink which was or has turned brown. The similarities between the Greek and the Coptic scripts suggest a single hand, evidently writing at different times. A comparable case where the script used for the Greek is similar to that used for the Coptic is the roughly contemporary P. Rain. Unterricht Kopt. 256 (see below); a later example is P. Rain. Unterricht Kopt. 257, a Greek–Coptic glossary doubtfully assigned to the eighth century. Compare the Latin–Greek codices of Vergil, where the script of the Latin and Greek texts, executed by the same hand, shows very similar features (M. Fressura, *Vergilius Latinograecus* i (2017) 11–12 and passim).

The Greek text is carefully written in a neat informal upright round hand, with some ligatures. α is usually well-rounded and has a double loop: the main loop is very large and sometimes open at the top, a form that also occurs in the Coptic text (→ iii 10 *s.l.*, 18 (last), 23) together with a slightly angular shape (→ iii 1, 4, 5; cf. also ↓ i 19). ε and ο are often oval; ε sometimes has a straight back. π has a crossbar that usually protrudes on either side. ω is well-rounded with a narrow loop separating the two lobes. The ligature of double λ and φ with its upright ending with a large loop are typical of documentary Byzantine scripts. Very reduced finials may be noted: there is occasionally a rightward element or hook at the foot of the upright of ρ (↓ i 6) and φ (↓ i 9, 18, 19). ζ and λ tend to prolong their final strokes in a wide curve extending under the following letter or letters (↓ i 16, 19, 20). Comparable informal hands can be found in Cavallo–Maehler, *GBEBP* 26a (P. Berol. 13243; Euripides, *Medea*) and 26c (XIII **1618**; Theocritus), both assigned to the fifth/sixth century, and 35b (P. Berol. 13262 + 21228; *Iliad*), assigned to the second half of the sixth century. There are similar letter shapes in *GBEBP* 36a (P. Warr. 10), a loan of money dated to 591/2.

Organic diaeresis occurs in the Coptic text (→ iii 1, 21, 22), inorganic diaeresis once in the Homeric text (↓ i 21). Elision is effected and marked in the poetic text (↓ i 21, 22), but there is no evidence of elision in the paraphrase.

The Homeric passage covered here and those covered in the three word-by-word paraphrases mentioned below all belong to the first two books of the *Iliad*. These were the most often read and studied, as the coverage of Homeric papyri and scholia minora shows (H. van Thiel, *Scholia D in Iliadem* (2014) 4–5). The paraphrase reconstructed *exempli gratia* in → ii is based on scholia minora and paraphrases preserved in papyri and medieval manuscripts. On Homeric paraphrases and their relationship to the D scholia, see J. Spooner, *Nine Homeric Papyri from Oxyrhynchos* (2002) 20–32; cf. also J. A. Fernández Delgado in G. Bastianini and A. Casanova (edd.), *I papiri omerici* (2012) 159–76.

There are three similar papyrus codices with two relatively narrow parallel columns containing the original Homeric text with each hexameter broken into several lines facing a word-by-word paraphrase in koine Greek (see Spooner, *Nine Homeric Papyri* 20–22, and J. Lundon, *Pap. Congr. XXIII* (2007) 407–14): (1) P. Vindob. G 26221 (vi), covering *Il.* 1.601–2 and 609–10, where the beginning of a new hexameter is marked with ekthesis (ed. Lundon, loc. cit.); (2) P. Sorb. inv. 2088 (iv/v), covering *Il.* 2.45–57 (unpublished; see Lundon 409); (3) P. Cair. J. E. 45612 (v or vi), covering *Il.* 1.43–5 and 48–50 (ed. pr. C. Gallazzi, *ZPE* 64 (1986) 2–6). In the last two cases, the end of each hexameter is marked with a paragraphus as in **5414**. (These three items are typologically distinct from the unusual examples of scholia minora in which Homeric verses are entirely glossed because of the difficulty or rarity of (almost) every component; see Lundon 409 n. 15.) This two-column layout, used occasionally in Greek–Greek glossaries, especially Homeric ones, is typical of bilingual texts containing translations of Latin authors into Greek: there one column may have lines each containing between one and three words (except that occasionally there may be a longer line, containing a maximum of five or six words), while the Greek column, usually on the right, offers the translation of the Latin text line by line; see E. Dickey, *CQ* 65 (2015) 807–21, esp. 808, 811–12, 819; Fressura, *Vergilius*

Latinograecus i 9–24. Note also the similar use of the paragraphus to mark the end of hexameters in Vergil glossaries; see S. Ammirati and M. Fressura, *JJP* 47 (2017) 17–18. The ragged left-hand edge of the Coptic column and the use of dicola to separate Greek and Coptic are typical of Greek–Coptic texts; see Dickey 819–20; Ammirati and Fressura 19–24.

The Coptic translation is in standard Sahidic dialect. The translator was evidently bilingual and seems to have understood the Homeric text fully through the use of exegetical material. It is very likely that individual glosses are based primarily on the koine paraphrase. Although individual units of the Coptic translation are correct and idiomatic (see for instance the use of the conjunctive at → iii 7, 11, 16), the translation usually follows the word order of the Greek text, which is sometimes awkward in Coptic: thus the Coptic version could not be used by itself as a continuous translation without the Greek text. For example, at → iii 3, the translation of the adjective $\gamma]\lambda\upsilon\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ as ⲉⲧϩⲟⲗⲉϭ ('what is sweet', technically a relative clause) should follow the equivalent of the subject $\H{\upsilon}\pi\nu o\varsigma$, but in the Greek text that occurs later, at ii 4. Note also that a word-for-word correspondence is not possible in 3–4 because of the morphological and syntactical features of Coptic: the pronoun $\epsilon\mu\epsilon$ occurring at ii 3 is in fact translated at iii 4 within the sequence ⲕⲁⲁⲧ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ.

Who could have produced, owned, and used this codex? The first parallel that comes to mind is Dioscorus of Aphrodito, the well-known sixth-century notary and lover of literature, who was also a teacher at various levels. His classical library includes a codex of the *Iliad* (P. Aphrod. Lit. I) and a codex of scholia minora covering the entire *Iliad* (P. Aphrod. Lit. II), while his autographs show that Dioscorus as a native Coptic speaker had learnt enough Greek to imitate Homer by composing poems in hexameters; see J.-L. Fournet, *Hellénisme dans l'Égypte du VIe siècle* (1999), esp. ii 669–90; A. Papaconstantinou in J.-L. Fournet and C. Magdelaine (edd.), *Les archives de Dioscore d'Aphrodité cent ans après leur découverte* (2007) 77–88; R. Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind* (2001) 40, 106, 141–2 with n. 52. In particular, Dioscorus possessed a Greek–Coptic glossary (P. Rain. Unterricht Kopt. 256), very probably composed and written by himself, which includes elementary vocabulary of everyday language as well as numerous poetic and literary Greek words. We may think of a similar individual, probably a teacher active in sixth-century Oxyrhynchus.

5414 is one of the few cases in which the Coptic language is used to translate works of pagan literature; see T. Orlandi, 'Traduzioni dal greco al copto: quali e perché', in G. Fiaccadori and M. Pavan (edd.), *Autori classici in lingue del Vicino e Medio Oriente* (1990) 93–104, esp. 93–5; P. Buzi, 'Egypt, Crossroad of Translations and Literary Interweavings (3rd–6th Centuries): a Reconsideration of Earlier Coptic Literature', in F. Crevatin (ed.), *Egitto, crocevia di traduzioni* (2018) 15–67. Several other such translations are known, including those of Pl. *R.* 588b–589b, in Nag Hammadi Codex VI 5 (48.16–51.23); Menander's *Sententiae*, transmitted by two bilingual codices and two bilingual ostraca (see Buzi 32); Anacharsis' and Diogenes' *Sententiae*, transmitted in a section of a Coptic parchment codex of the tenth or eleventh century from the White Monastery (P. Vind. K 943–6, cf. Buzi 34–5); and the *Alexander Romance*, translated perhaps in the sixth century and transmitted by a paper manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century from the White Monastery and by a small papyrus fragment (see Buzi 40). These items can be

related to a school environment or more generally to an educational context. The Coptic gloss and Greek and Coptic marginal annotation found in the Antinoe Theocritus of the 5th–6th century (LDAB 4004) are also worth noting in this connection: see F. Montana, *Eikasmos* 22 (2011) 302–4.

We may conclude that **5414** was very probably produced for educational purposes, both in its 'original' form as a face-to-face Homeric text with koine paraphrase and in its later trico-lumnar layout equipped with Coptic glosses.

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The following abbreviations are used:

Σ D   H. van Thiel, *Scholia D in Iliadem* (2014).

PBe   Bekker's paraphrase, cited from Paris. gr. 2690 (fol. 11 r.). Edition: I. Bekker (ed.), *Scholiorum in Homeri Iliadem appendix* (1827). See I. Vassis, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der sogenannten Psellos-Paraphrase der Ilias* (1991) 164–7, 224–5, 265.

PBo   Paraphrasis Bodleiana, cited from Bodl. Auct. T.2.7 (fol. 18 v.). See Vassis 18.
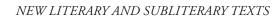
PMo   Moschopulus' paraphrase. Edition: S. Grandolini, *AFLPer*(*class*) 18 (1980–1981) 5–22.

PPs   'Psellus' paraphrase, cited from Paris. gr. 2766 (fol. 26 r.). See Vassis 46–9.

PVat   Paraphrasis Vaticana A, cited from Genav. gr. 44 (p. 79). See Vassis 24.
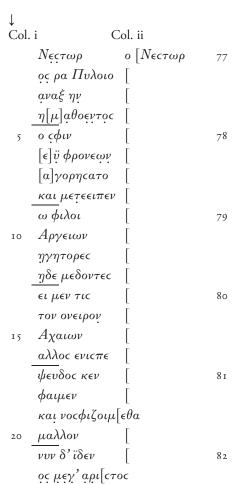
→

Col. i   Cols. ii–iii

	[ως ο μεν ειπων	ουτως ου]τος μεν ειπων : ⲧⲁ̈ⲓ ⲧⲉ ⲑⲉ (ⲛ̄ⲧⲁⲡⲁ̈ⲓⲭⲟⲟⲥ)	(ⲉϥϩⲱⲗ)	*Il.* 2.70
	[ωχετ' αποπταμενος	ανεχωρ]ησεν πετομενος : ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ		71
	[εμε δε γλυκυς	εμε δε ο γ]λυκυς ⲉⲧϩⲟⲗⲉϭ		
	[υπνος ανηκεν	υπνος απε]λυσεν : ⲁⲡ . . . . [ ]ⲙⲕⲁⲁⲧ (ⲉⲃⲟⲗ)		
5	[αλλ' αγετ'	αλλ' αγετε] ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲙⲟⲟϣⲉ		72
	[αι κεν πως	εανπερ πω]ς		
	[θωρηξομεν	καθοπλις]ωμεν ⲛ̄ⲧⲛ̄ϩⲱⲕ		
	[υιας Αχαιων	τους Ελλη]νας ⲛⲉϩⲗⲗⲏⲛⲁⲥ		
	[πρωτα δ'	πρωτον] δε ⲛϣⲟⲣⲡ ⲇⲉ		73
10	[εγων επεσιν	εγω τοις λο]γοις (ⲁⲛⲟⲕ) ϩⲛ̄ⲛⲉϣⲁϫⲉ		
	[πειρησομαι	πειρασομ]αι ⲧⲁⲭⲓⲡⲉⲓⲣⲉ		
	[η θεμις εστιν	ως προσηκ]ον εστιν ⲛ̄ⲑⲉ ⲛ . [ ]ⲛ		
	[και φευγειν	και φευγειν] ⲁⲩⲱ ⲉⲡⲱⲧ		74
	[συν νηυσι	συν ταις να]υσι ⲙⲛ̄ ⲛⲉϫⲏⲩ (ⲛ̄ϩⲙⲟⲥ)		
15	[πολυκληϊσι	ταις πολυκα]θεδραις : ⲛⲁⲡⲣⲱϣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲙⲁ		
	[κελευσω	κελευς]ω ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ		
	[υμεις δ'	υμεις δ]ε ⲛ̄ⲧⲱⲧⲛ̄ ⲇⲉ		75
	[αλλοθεν αλλος	αλλαχο]θεν αλλος : ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲥⲁⲕⲉⲥⲁ		
	[ερητυειν	κωλυειν] ⲉⲕⲱⲗⲉ		
20	[επεεσσιν	τοις λογοι]ς ⟨ϩⲛ⟩ⲛⲉϣⲁϫⲉ		
	[ητοι ο γ'	ουτος με]ν ⲡⲁ̈ⲓ ⲙⲉⲛ		76
	[ως ειπων	ουτως ειπω]ν ⲧⲁ̈ⲓ ⟨ⲧⲉ⟩ ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥⲭⲟⲟⲥ		
	[κατ' αρ' εζετο	εκαθεσθη] ⲁϥϩⲙⲟⲥ		

. . . .

↓

Col. i		Col. ii	
	$N\underset{..}{\epsilon}c\tau\omega\rho$	o $\big[N\epsilon c\tau\omega\rho$	77
	$o\underset{.}{c}$ $\rho\alpha$ $\Pi\upsilon\lambda o\iota o$	$\big[$	
	$\underset{.}{\alpha}\nu\alpha\xi$ $\eta\underset{.}{\nu}$	$\big[$	
	$\underline{\eta[\mu]\underset{.}{\alpha}\theta o\underset{..}{\epsilon}\nu\underset{.}{\tau}o c}$	$\big[$	
5	o $c\underset{.}{\phi}\iota\nu$	$\big[$	78
	$[\epsilon]\ddot{\upsilon}$ $\phi\rho o\nu\epsilon\underset{..}{\omega}\underset{.}{\nu}$	$\big[$	
	$[\alpha]\gamma o\rho\eta c\alpha\tau o$	$\big[$	
	$\underline{\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\epsilon\underset{.}{\tau}\epsilon\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu}$	$\big[$	
	ω $\phi\iota\lambda o\iota$	$\big[$	79
10	$A\rho\gamma\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$	$\big[$	
	$\eta\gamma\eta\tau o\rho\epsilon c$	$\big[$	
	$\underline{\eta\underset{.}{\delta}\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\delta o\nu\tau\epsilon c}$	$\big[$	
	$\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\iota c$	$\big[$	80
	$\tau o\nu$ $o\nu\epsilon\iota\rho o\underset{.}{\nu}$	$\big[$	
15	$A\chi\alpha\iota\omega\nu$	$\big[$	
	$\underline{\alpha\lambda\lambda o c\ \epsilon\nu\iota c\pi\epsilon}$	$\big[$	
	$\underline{\psi\epsilon\upsilon\delta o c\ \kappa\epsilon\nu}$	$\big[$	81
	$\phi\alpha\iota\mu\epsilon\nu$	$\big[$	
	$\kappa\alpha\underset{.}{\iota}\ \nu o c\phi\iota\zeta o\iota\mu\big[\epsilon\theta\alpha$		
20	$\underline{\mu\alpha\lambda\lambda o\nu}$	$\big[$	
	$\nu\upsilon\nu$ δ' $\ddot{\iota}\delta\epsilon\nu$	$\big[$	82
	$o\underset{.}{c}$ $\underset{..}{\mu}\underset{.}{\epsilon}\gamma$' $\underset{.}{\alpha}\rho\iota\big[c\tau o c$		
	$A\chi\alpha\iota\omega\nu$	$\big[$	
	$\underset{..}{\epsilon}\underset{.}{\upsilon}\underset{.}{\chi}\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\big[\iota\nu\alpha\iota$		

.   .   .   .

→

Col. i

5 Here and at 9, 17, and 21, I have printed the Homeric text with elision at the ends of lines, as in P. Vindob. G 26221 and P. Sorb. inv. 2088, but it is possible that *scriptio plena* was employed, as in P. Cair. J. E. 45612 and Homeric glossaries; cf. Lundon 410.

Col. ii

1 ουτωϲ ου]τος μεν: οὕτωϲ μὲν δὴ οὗτοϲ Σ D: οὕτωϲ μὲν δὴ οὗτοϲ PBe: οὕτω μὲν δὴ ῾οὗτοϲ´ PVat (the addition is due to another hand in Genav. gr. 44): οὕτωϲ οὗτοϲ PPs: οὗτοϲ μὲν οὖν οὕτωϲ PBo: ὁ μὲν οὕτωϲ PMo.

2 ανεχωρ]ηϲεν. This form is used to gloss ἀπεβήϲατο in Σ D *Il.* 2.35 and ἀπέβη in Σ *Od.* 1.319d. Σ D here glosses ᾤχετο with ἀπῄει, ἀπήρχετο; cf. Σ D *Il.* 1.53 (ἐπῄει, ἐπήρχετο), 11.357 (ἐπορεύετο): ἀπήρχετο PBe: ἐπορεύθη PBo, PPs, PVat: ἀφανὴϲ ἐγένετο PMo. Σ *Od.* 1.260a1–2 gloss ᾤχετο with ἀπῆλθεν and ἦλθε.

πετομενος. I have not found any occurrence of this form as a gloss of the Homeric ἀποπτάμενοϲ, which interestingly is kept as such in PMo, while PVat offers ἀποπεταϲθείϲ, Hesych. α 6563 ἀποπτάϲ, PBo ἀποπτὰϲ καὶ πεταϲθείϲ, PPs πεταϲθείϲ, LXVII **4631** i 8 ἀποϲτάϲ, PBe ταχέωϲ ἀπελθών. Σ D has ἀποπτάϲ, ταχέωϲ ἀπελθών.

3 γ]λυκυς. The original Homeric word has not been replaced because it is clear in itself; so PMo. P. Vindob. G 26221 v. 8 (*Il.* 1.610) similarly paraphrases Homer's γλυκὺϲ ὕπνοϲ as ὁ γλυκὺϲ ὕπνοϲ (Lundon 411), while PBo here has the redundant phrase ὁ ἡδὺϲ καὶ γλυκὺϲ ὕπνοϲ. Σ D glosses γλυκύϲ with γνήϲιοϲ (= PBe), ἡδύϲ (= PPs, PVat).

4 απε]λυϲεν: so Hesych. α 5042. Σ D has κατέλιπεν (= PBe, PVat), ἀφῆκεν (= PBo, PMo, PPs).

5 αλλ᾽ αγετε]: so PBe, PBo, PMo; ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε PVat. Cf. Σ D *Il.* 1.210 ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε· ἀλλὰ ἄγε. PPs has ἀλλὰ φέρετε, and φέρετε is a gloss written above ἄγετ᾽ in the poetic text of Genav. gr. 44. This verb could be used as a gloss for ἄγετε: cf. e.g. Σ *Od.* 1.169a, 206a, *Synagoge* a α 45, Hesych. δ 738 (*Il.* 7.350), etc. Thus ἀλλὰ φέρετε could be an alternative supplement, but cf. above, 3 n.

6 εανπερ πω]ς. Σ D has ὅπωϲ ἄν (= PBe, PMo), ἐάν πωϲ (= Σ D *Il.* 1.66, PBo, PPs). PVat has ἐὰν πῶϲ ἐϲτὶ. XXIV **2405** i 17 glosses αἴ κεν (*Il.* 1.66) with ἐάν. For ἐάνπερ (WBH), which better suits the alignment, cf. Σ *Od.* 2.102a, *Lexeis Homerikai* α 152 van Thiel. In Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 3017 r. i (LDAB 1844), αἴ κεν (*Il.* 4.353) is glossed with ἄν.

7 καθοπλιϲ]ωμεν: so Σ D, PBe, PBo, PPs, PVat. The same equivalence is found in several places in the D scholia and other sources; see Theodoridis' apparatus to Phot. *Lex.* θ 303 for references. The simple ὁπλίϲωμεν is given by PMo; cf. Phot. *Lex.* θ 302 with Theodoridis' references.

8 τους Ελλη]νας: so PBe, PPs. See Σ D *Il.* 1.237 υἷεϲ Ἀχαιῶν: περιφραϲτικῶϲ οἱ Ἕλληνεϲ (cf. also Σ D *Il.* 3.82, 183). PBo, PMo, and PVat have τοὺϲ υἱοὺϲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

9 πρωτον] δε. πρῶτον is the obvious gloss. PBe and PBo offer πρῶτον δέ, PVat πρῶτον μέν, PMo πρότερον δή, and PPs ἐξ ἀρχῆϲ δέ.

10 τοις λο]γοις, cf. 20. λόγοιϲ is the obvious gloss; cf. e.g. Σ D here and at *Il.* 1.77, 150, 223, **2405** ii 59 ad *Il.* 1.77 (ἔ]πεϲιν· λογοιϲ), LVI **3832** i 15 ad *Il.* 2.213 (επεα·] λογο[υϲ). It is found in PBe, PBo, PMo, PPs, PVat (in the last case with the article). For the gloss with the article, cf. also Σ D *Il.* 24.102.

11 πειραϲομ]αι: so PBo, PPs, Hesych. π 1250; cf. PMo τῆϲ γνώμηϲ αὐτῶν ἀποπειράϲομαι and P. Mich. inv. 2720 fol. 5 r. 17–18 (LDAB 2214) ad *Il.* 5.279 [πειρηϲομαι·] αποπειρ[η]ϲομαι. This supplement suits the alignment better than e.g. (απο)πειραν ληψομ]αι (Σ D, PBe; cf. P. Berol. inv. 11636 r. ii a.17 (LDAB 2094) ad *Il.* 5.279, Σ *Od.* 6.126a, 134a, Hesych. π 1248). PVat has ἀπόπειραν ποιήϲω, while P. Hamb. inv. 736 v. i 8 (LDAB 1593) on the present verse gives β]αϲανιω.

12 ως προςηκ]ον εστιν: so **4631** i 10–11 (ως προϲηκ[ον εϲτι): ὡϲ νενόμιϲται καὶ ὡϲ προϲῆκόν ἐϲτιν Σ D: καθὼϲ προϲῆκον ἐϲτίν PVat. PPs has καθὸ νόμοϲ ἐϲτί, PBo ὡϲ θέμιϲ ἐϲτὶ καὶ νόμοϲ, PBe ὡϲ νενόμιϲται, and PMo καθὰ πρέπον ἂν εἴη; cf. Σ Il. 9.33a (ὡϲ νόμοϲ ἐϲτίν) and Σ Od. 3.187b (ὡϲ δίκαιον, ὡϲ νόμοϲ).

13 και φευγειν] suggested by the space: so PBe, PBo, PVat (with ἀποδιδράϲκειν above the line in Genav. gr. 44): καὶ ἀποδιδράϲκειν PPs: καὶ ϲὺν ϲπουδῇ τῆϲ Τροίαϲ ἀπέρχεϲθαι PMo.

14 ϲυν ταιϲ να]υϲι: cf. Σ D Il. 1.26, 170, 179, 13.276, 18.259, PBe, PPs, ϲὺν ταῖϲ … ναυϲί PBo, PVat; διὰ τῶν … νεῶν PMo.

As WBH remarks, the Coptic gloss seems to support ϲύν against the variant ἐν in Homer (see West's apparatus).

15 ταιϲ πολυκα]θεδραιϲ: the form in -αιϲ is unique to **5414**, while the other sources transmit πολυκαθέδροιϲ: Σ D here and at 2.175, PBe, PPs (both ταῖϲ ναυϲὶ ταῖϲ πολυκαθέδροιϲ), PBo, PVat (both ταῖϲ πολυκαθέδροιϲ ναυϲί); cf. also the restoration of **4631** i 12 ad Il. 2.74 πολυκλ]ηιϲϲι· πολυκαθεδ[ροιϲ. Cf. Hesych. π 2868, Ap. Soph. 133.5. PMo has διὰ τῶν πολυκαθέδρων νεῶν. -αιϲ is probably an error produced by assimilation to the preceding article.

There is a blank line below this line. Perhaps the scribe was avoiding a damaged patch: there is now a crack in the surface running across the preserved part.

16 κελευϲ]ω is suggested by the Coptic ⲧⲁⲕⲉⲗⲉⲩⲉ, the same Greek verb as loanword. The present κελεύω at Il. 4.359 is retained in the paraphrase in Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 3017 r. i (LDAB 1844). PBo here has κελεύϲω. The other paraphrases use different verbs: παρακελεύϲω (PVat, cf. κελεύων· παρακελευόμενοϲ in P. Mich. inv. 2720 fol. 11 r. 6 (LDAB 2214) ad Il. 5.528, Σ D Il. 11.165; here the compound would be too long), προϲτάξω (PBe; cf. Σ D Il. 2.11, 4.322, Σ Od. 1.357e, 4.485c; Hesych. κ 2160), προτρέπω (PPs; cf. Σ Od. 4.274d κελευϲεμέναι· προτρέψαι), προτρέψομαι (PMo).]ω is doubtful, but the surface is abraded; the vertical trace at the end could be stray ink, unless it represents a middle form.

17 υμειϲ δ]ε: the Homeric phrase is kept unchanged, as in PBe, PBo, PMo, PPs, and PVat (cf. 3 n.).

18 αλλαχο]θεν αλλοϲ: so PBe; ἄλλοϲ ἀλλαχόθεν Σ D, PBo. Cf. Hesych. α 3147 ἄλλοθεν· ἀλλαχόθεν. PVat has ἄλλοϲ ἄλλοθεν, with ἑτέρωθεν ἕτεροϲ above the line in Genav. gr. 44. PPs too has ἑτέρωθεν ἕτεροϲ, while PMo gives ἄλλοϲ ἀπ' ἄλλου μέρουϲ.

19 κωλυειν]: so Σ D (κατέχειν, κωλύειν), **4631** i 13 ad Il. 2.75 (ερη]τυειν· κωλυειν), PBe (which adds ἢ κωλύετε); cf. also Ap. Soph. 76.4, Hesych. ε 5795. PPs and PVat have κωλύϲω; cf. P. Amh. II 19 r. 15 ad Il. 11.567 (ερη]τυϲαϲκ[εν]· εκω[λ]υεν), Σ D Il. 2.164, Σ Il. 1.192c. The Coptic gloss ⲉⲕⲱⲗⲉ, i.e. the same verb as loanword with altered spelling (see iii 19 n.), would exclude other possible glosses, like a form of κατέχω (Σ D Il. 2.164 ἐρήτυε· κώλυε, κάτεχε, 13.280 ἐρητύεται· κατέχεται, P. Stras. inv. 33 iv 8–9 (LDAB 1854) ad Il. 1.192 ερητ[υ]ϲε[ι]ε [τε θυ]μον· καταϲχοι την οργην, P. Köln inv. 53.8 (LDAB 1948) ad Il. 2.97 ερητυον· κατειχον, ε[κωλυον, **4631** ii 12 ad Il. 2.99 ερ]η[τ]υ[θεν·] κατειχον). PBo has ἐπέχετε καὶ κρατεῖτε, PMo ἐπέχετε.

20 τοιϲ λογοι]ϲ: cf. above, 10 n. PMo and PPs have λόγοιϲ, PBo λόγοιϲ καὶ ῥήμαϲι, PBe ἐν λόγοιϲ, PVat διὰ λόγων. Considerations of spacing suggest that the article was present.

21–2 ουτοϲ με]ν | ουτωϲ ειπω]ν: so PBo, PPs: οὕτωϲ (l. οὗτοϲ?) μὲν οὕτωϲ εἰπών PBe: ὁ μὲν οὕτωϲ εἰπών PMo: οὗτοϲ δὴ οὕτωϲ εἰπών PVat. Σ D Il. 1.68 has οὗτοϲ οὕτωϲ εἰπών, and *Lexeis Homerikai* η 190 van Thiel ὁ μὲν δὴ οὕτωϲ εἰπών.

21 ουτοϲ με]ν: beside the sources cited in 21–2 n., cf. also P. Yale II 125.3–4 ad Il. 1.68 (ητοι {μεν}· με⟨ν⟩ | ο γ ωϲ· ου⟨τοϲ γε⟩), P. Berol. inv. 11518 iii 70–72 (LDAB 1330) ad Il. 4.9 (ητοι· ϲυνδε[ϲμοϲ] ιϲοδυναμ[ων τω] μεν; cf. Ap. Soph. 85.5–6), **2405** i 13 ad Il. 1.65 (ο γε·] ουτοϲ γε), LXVII **4630** 15 ad Il. 2.37 (ο γε· ουτοϲπ[ερ), *Lexeis Homerikai* α 191 van Thiel (ἤτοι ὅ γε· οὗτοϲ μὲν οὕτωϲ).

22 ουτως ειπω]ν: so Hesych. ω 409.

23 ἐκαθεσθη]: so PVat, *Σ* D *Il.* 1.68, 101; alternatively ἐκαθέζετο as in PBe, PBo, PPs, ἐκάθισεν as in PMo, or ἐκάθητο. *Σ Od.* 2.224c offers three of these forms (ἐκαθέσθη Mᵃ, ἐκαθέζετο Y, ἐκάθητο E).

As the Homeric text on ↓ starts with *Il.* 2.77, only one or two lines of text are missing at the foot of →, i.e. the final phrase of *Il.* 2.76 (τοισι δ' (‖) ανεστη) and the corresponding paraphrase, perhaps εν αυτοις δε ανεστη, as in *Σ Od.* 2.224d, or εν τουτοις δε ανεστη, as in PPs and PVat.

Col. iii

1 ⲦⲀÏ ⲦⲈ ⲐⲈ `ⲚⲦⲀⲠⲀⲒⲬⲞⲞⲤ´: 'this is the manner in which this one spoke'. The perfect ⲚⲦⲀⲠⲀⲒⲬⲞⲞⲤ was written in the upper margin, just above the Greek paraphrase and the beginning of the Coptic gloss, because there was not enough space for it on the right.

2 ⲀϤⲂⲰⲔ `ⲈϤϨⲰⲖ´: 'he went away'. ⲀϤⲂⲰⲔ is uncertain; the traces are rather blurred. A curve separates the supralinear addition from the text of the previous line, to its left, as in the case of the supralinear addition to 15.

3 ⲈⲦϨⲞⲖⲈϬ: 'which is sweet'.

4 ⲀⲠ . . . . [ ]ⲘⲔⲀⲀⲦ `ⲈⲂⲞⲖ´: 'this … left me'. Between ⲀⲠ and ⲔⲀⲀⲦ we expect the translation of the Greek word ὕπνος, in the sense of 'sleep', 'dream', or 'repose', but the traces are problematic: a left-hand arc; scanty traces suggesting an upright slightly sloping to the right; a small trace high in the line above the lower part of an ascending oblique, suggesting a triangular letter, most likely ⲁ; remains of a circle, possibly ⲟ; a short blank space, possibly insignificant, and then very probably ⲙ. These traces do not suit any possible masculine Coptic word, such as ⲠⲚⲔⲞⲦⲔ, ⲠⲰⲂϢ, ⲠⲚⲀⲨ ('vision'), ⲠⲤⲀⲔ ('appearance'), ⲠⲞⲨⲞⲰⲚϨ ('revelation'), or ⲠⲈⲒⲚⲈ ('likeness'). G. Schenke suggests ⲀⲠⲈⲒⲀϨⲞⲘ ⲔⲀⲀⲦ ⲈⲂⲞⲖ, 'this (sweet) murmur/sigh left me'. This translation would fit the context, putting emphasis on the spoken element of the revelation taking place within Agamemnon's dream.

ⲈⲂⲞⲖ was written above ⲔⲀⲀⲦ because there was not enough space for it at the end of the line.

5 ⲀⲖⲖⲀ ⲘⲞⲞϢⲈ: 'but come'. I have no explanation for the blank space, wide enough for about two lettere, between ⲘⲞⲞ and ϢⲈ. A similar space can be observed in 7–10: no obvious damage is visible on the surface in the relevant places.

7 ⲚⲦⲚϨⲰⲔ: 'so that we may arm'.

8 ⲚⲈϨⲖⲖⲎⲚⲀⲤ: 'the Greeks'. One expects the construction of the direct object Ⲛ ⲚⲈϨⲖⲖⲎⲚⲀⲤ: a mere haplography?

9 ⲚϢⲞⲢⲠ ⲆⲈ: 'yet first'.

10 `ⲀⲚⲞⲔ´ ϨⲚ̄ⲚⲈϢⲀⲬⲈ: 'me in words'.

11 ⲦⲀⲬⲒⲠⲈⲒⲢⲈ: 'I will test (them)'.

12 ⲚⲐⲈ Ⲛ . [ ]Ⲛ . . . . : 'in the manner …'. One expects a phrase like ⲚⲐⲈ ⲈⲦⲈϢϢⲈ or ⲚⲐⲈ ⲚⲚⲈⲦⲰϢⲈ, 'in the manner in which it is right', but these are both hard to reconcile with the traces.

13 ⲀⲨⲰ ⲈⲠⲰⲦ: 'and to flee'.

14 ⲘⲚ̄ ⲚⲈⲬⲎⲨ: 'with the ships'.

15 ⲚⲀⲠⲢⲰϢⲈ ⲚⲘⲀ `Ⲛ̄ϨⲘⲞⲤ´: 'with many seats'. This is probably a *hapax legomenon* created specifically to translate the Homeric epithet πολυκλήϊσι, which is paraphrased with πολυκα]θεδραις, 'with many benches'. The last two elements of the compound (ⲘⲀ `Ⲛ̄ϨⲘⲞⲤ´) are attested as a translation of καθέδρα in Sirach xii.12. There was no room for Ⲛ̄ϨⲘⲞⲤ on the line, and it is added above, with a curve to separate it from the text of the preceding line, as in 2.

16 ⲦⲀⲔⲈⲖⲈⲨⲈ: 'I will order'.

17 Ⲛ̄ⲦⲰⲦⲚ̄ ⲆⲈ: 'but you'.

18 ⲕⲉⲟⲩⲁ ⲥⲁⲕⲉⲥⲁ: 'one on one side, the other on the other side'. Note the peculiar emphasis of this phrase, where the first ⲥⲁ ('side, place') reinforces ⲕⲉⲥⲁ ('other side/elsewhere'); see Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 313b, 314a (ⲛⲥⲁⲥⲁ ⲛⲓⲙ = πάντοθεν, πανταχόθεν, 'on every side').

19 ⲉⲕⲱⲗⲉ: 'restrain' (imper.). ⲕⲱⲗⲉ is one of several forms used in Coptic for the Greek loanword κωλύω; see Förster, *Wörterbuch* s.v.

21 ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲙⲉⲛ: 'and this one'.

22 ⲧⲁⲓ̈ ⟨ⲧⲉ⟩ ⲑⲉ ⲛ̄ⲧⲁϥϫⲟⲟ[ⲥ: 'this is the manner in which he spoke'. The Coptic, like the Greek, is slightly different from that in 1.

23 ⲁϥϩⲙⲟⲥ: 'he sat down'.

D. COLOMO

III. APOLLONIUS RHODIUS

5415–31. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*[1]

This section includes editions of fourteen papyri, a fragment of a parchment codex, and two title tags of the *Argonautica*, significantly increasing the number of known ancient manuscripts of the poem recovered from Egypt. Fifty-four are listed in the Mertens–Pack³ database, dating from the first century BC to the seventh century AD. Two of these, XXXIV **2698** (MP³ 99.1) and LXIV **4419** (MP³ 98.01), are probably in the same hand; X **1179** (MP³ 101) and LXXV **5027** (MP³ 101.01) form another such pair. Unsurprisingly, the lion's share comes from Oxyrhynchus, which alone accounts for at least 33. Six of the editions assembled here offer additional fragments of papyri published in earlier volumes of the series.

The best account of the medieval textual tradition of the *Argonautica* is that of Vian i pp. xl–lxvii, slightly modified in Vian ii pp. ix–xi; see also P. Eleuteri in T. D. Papanghelis and A. Rengakos (edd.), *Brill's Companion to Apollonius Rhodius* (²2008) 41–50, on the later circulation and filiations of some manuscripts. The five primary manuscripts are split into two branches: L and A are descended from a hyparchetype *m*, and S and G from *w*. Both *m* and *w* are at least partly dependent on a Late Antique archetype *Ω*;[2] but the picture is more complicated in the case of Book 4 of L, which was originally copied from a different exemplar before it was

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[1] The following works are cited in abbreviated form:

Campbell	M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Apollonius Rhodius* Argonautica *III 1–471* (1994).
Cuypers	M. P. Cuypers, *Apollonius Rhodius* Argonautica *2.1–310: a Commentary* (Diss. Leiden 1997).
Fränkel	H. Fränkel, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonautica* (1961).
Fränkel, *Einleitung*	H. Fränkel, *Einleitung zur kritischen Ausgabe der Argonautika des Apollonios* (1964).
Fränkel, *Noten*	H. Fränkel, *Noten zu den Argonautika des Apollonios* (1968).
Haslam	M. W. Haslam, 'Apollonius Rhodius and the Papyri', *ICS* 3 (1978) 47–73.
Hunter	R. L. Hunter, *Apollonius of Rhodes: Argonautica, Book III* (1989).
Livrea	E. Livrea, *Apollonii Rhodii Argonauticon liber quartus* (1973).
Matteo	R. Matteo, *Apollonio Rodio: Argonautiche, libro II* (2007).
Vian	F. Vian, *Apollonios de Rhodes: Argonautiques*, 3 vols. (i 1974, ii² 1993, iii² 1996).

[2] One of the arguments for such a common source is the omission of the word $\pi o\delta\hat{\omega}\nu$ in all the medieval manuscripts at 3.254 (see Fränkel's *praefatio*, p. ix); the supplement is now confirmed by **5421**. Haslam 68–72, however, has cast doubt on the notion that a single archetype is the source of all the medieval variants, pointing out, among other difficulties, that the variants are too numerous and too neatly distributed between the two branches to be accounted for in this way. As an alternative and more flexible model for such variation, he proposes that, though there may have been a single ancient manuscript that was transcribed into minuscule in the ninth century and that subsequently served as a *manuscrit de base* for both *m* and *w*, we must allow for the survival of one or more other ancient manuscripts that could have been collated with the base manuscript.

corrected from Ω. The fifth primary manuscript, E, is descended from *m* via a lost intermediary *k*, but shows signs of horizontal influence from other branches of the tradition. A special indirect descendant of E is a cluster of manuscripts of Demetrius Moschus labelled *d*, which appear to have been collated directly with *w* and preserve some unique or rare readings. There are also valuable scholia and many citations in the etymologica.

In a penetrating investigation of the papyri of the *Argonautica*, M. W. Haslam identified several characteristics that may be observed also in the new witnesses. These include liability to Homerization, a feature familiar from their medieval counterparts (e.g. **5421** 4.1012, 1270 nn.); lack of support for the numerous transpositions and lacunae postulated in Fränkel's edition (e.g. **5416** 1.1029–30 n., **5421** 4.1170 n.); and the frequent recording of variants, a sign of vigorous scholarly activity in antiquity (cf. **5419** 3.123–7, **5420** 3.122–3, **5421** 4.726, **5428** 4.1043, **5429** 4.1308; *CLGP* I.1.3 p. 3 with n. 1). The papyri published here also contribute, as expected, to the rich crop of superior new readings and confirmations of modern conjectures found in ancient copies:[1]

2.165	**5417**	περάτης for περάτων
2.171	**5417**	λαιφέων (Naber) for νεφέων
2.223	**5417**	μευ for μοι
2.906	**5417**	κατενίccετο (Naber) for κατενάccατο
2.945a	**5417**	Parts of a line omitted by the medieval MSS and otherwise known only from Π^{16}
2.949	**5417**	ἑτοίμως for ὅ γ' αὐτῇ?
2.989	**5417**	ἔργ' ἐμεμήλει for ἔργα μέμηλε(ν)
2.1017a–b	**5417**	Parts of two lines replaced in the medieval MSS by 1017 (deleted by Platt) = 381b
3.224	**5419**	θυώδεα … ἀλοιφήν for θυώδεϊ … ἀλοιφῇ?
3.254	**5421**	ποδῶν (Chrestien), omitted in the medieval MSS
4.233	**5425**	ἐνιπλήcει (perhaps conjectured by Demetrius Moschus) for ἐπιπλήcει
4.234	**5425**	κεφαλῇcι δαήcεcθε cφετέρῃcι for τάδε πάντα δαήcονται κεφαλῇcι (suggesting a different sentence structure for 230–35)
4.274	**5425**	ἀρετῇ for θάρcει
4.278	**5425**	αὖθι for ὅγε
4.464	**5421**	ἐξᾶλτο (Hölzlin) for ἐπᾶλτο
4.511	**5426**	οἵ — δὴ γάρ τε for αὐτοὶ δ' αὖτε in Ω (δὴ γάρ τε *Et. Gen.* and *EM*)
4.726	**5421**	ἐπ' οὔδεοc (Fränkel) and κατ' οὔδεοc for ἀπ' οὔδεοc
4.852	**5421**	cτῆ (Fränkel) for ἥ

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[1] Some of the readings in Book 4 were made available to R. Hunter for his 2015 edition.

4.882	**5427**	ἔλυϲαν for ἔπαυϲαν
4.883	**5427**	δέ for τε
4.1029	**5428**	δακρυόεϲϲα for δάκρυ χέουϲα
4.1043	**5428**	ἄγουϲαν for ἰοῦϲαν
4.1265	**5421**	μάλα for ἅλα
4.1269	**5421**	ἐκ omitted (Blomfield)

Other new readings are inferior or of uncertain value:

2.32	**5417**	] ̣ το λαίφην (= Call. *Hec.* fr. 28 Hollis?) for δίπτυχα λώπην
2.941	**5417**	παρεξεχέοντ' for παρεξενέοντ' or παρεξερέοντ'
2.984	**5417**	ἄλμην for ἄκρην or ἀκτήν
2.1002	**5417**	οὐδέ for the second οὔτε
2.1100	**5418**	ἐτίναξεν for ἐτίναϲϲε
3.123	**5420**	κατωπιόων for κατηφιόων
3.123–4	**5419–20**	Interchange of ἄλλον and ἄλλωι?
4.235	**5425**	ἐπιδέγμενοι for ὑποδέγμενοι
4.270	**5425**	δ' οὔ πώ ποτε for δέ μιν οὔ ποτε
4.864	**5421**	ἀνηλεγέωϲ for ἀπηλεγέωϲ
4.1012	**5421**	ἐλλίϲϲετο for μειλίϲϲετο
4.1272	**5421**	μὲν πᾶϲαν for πᾶϲαν μέν

When the medieval manuscripts disagree, the papyri almost always have the superior reading; but a number of corruptions in the medieval text can now be shown to be ancient, e.g. at 2.28 (**5417**) οἶοϲ, 2.906 (**5417** p.c.) κατενάϲϲατο, 3.158 (**5420**) μεγάροιο, 4.852 (**5421** a.c.) ἥ, 4.1043 (**5428** p.c.) ἰοῦϲαν.
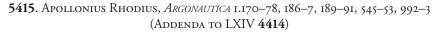
The collation text is Vian's Budé edition. Variants are not recorded for portions of lines that are not preserved, except when considerations of spacing are decisive. In the transcripts, lectional signs are printed between square brackets where the letters to which they apply are not preserved.

A. BENAISSA

5415. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 1.170–78, 186–7, 189–91, 545–53, 992–3
(Addenda to LXIV **4414**)

A: 103/17(a); B: 50 4B.23/F(3–5)a   A fr. 17a: 1.2 × 4.9 cm   Second/third century

Six of the additional fragments published here belong to the two main stretches of text included in **4414**, while the largest, A fr. 17a, falls about half way between them. Each column of the roll held about 35 lines, and A fr. 17a will have come near the foot of col. xvi. It does not overlap any other papyrus, but later parts of the same verses are found in LXIV **4417**. XXXIV **2700** ($\varPi^1$) includes parts of 169–74.

No points of particular textual interest emerge from these scraps, but a new spelling at 992 may be worth considering.

The lines of cols. vi and xxix to which the new fragments contribute are transcribed afresh below.[1] The notes are intended as a supplement to those in the first edition.

Col. vi
A frr. 4a, 5a, 5b

170 fr. 4a   ] . [κρυ]ψϵ κα̣[λ]ϵιῆι [
                      ϵρητυς]ϵιϵ [   ] [   ]   [
                      φατι]ς̣ Ḥ[ϵλιοιο   ]   [

173 fr. 5a   ] . [ ] . [ ] . . . [
174 fr. 5b   ] . [   ] γα[ι]α̣ν [
175   ϲη]μα[ντορ]α̣ Κ[ο]λχ[ων]
                      Υπϵ]ρα̣[ϲιου υι]ϵ[ϲ] [
                      αφικ]α̣ν[ον Αχαιι]δο̣[ϲ ην] κ̣ο̣τϵ Πϵ[λλην]
                                        Αχ[α]ι̣α
                      ϵπ]όλιϲ[ϲϵν ϵπ οφ]ρ̣[υ]ϲι̣ν Αιγι̇αλο̣[ιο]

A fr. 10a

186   [ητο]ι ο μϵν π[τ]ολ[ιϵθρο]ν αγα[υ]ου Μϵ[ιλη]τοι̣ο [
      [νο]ϲ̣φιϲθϵιϲ Ε̣ρ[γινος ο] δ' Ι[μβ]ρα̣[ϲ]ι̇η[ϲ ϵδος] Ḥ[ρηϲ]

A fr. 13a

      [ημ]ϵ̣ν ναυ[τιλιης ηδ ά]ρϵ̣[ος ϵυχϵτοω]ν̣το [
190   [Οιν]έ̣ιδης δ [ϵπι τοιϲιν] α̣φ[ορμηθϵιϲ Κ]αλυδ[ωνος]
      [αλκ]ή̇ϵι[ϲ] Μ[ϵλϵ]α̣γ̣[ρος αν]ή̇λ[υ]θ̣ϵ Λα[οκοω]ν [

[1] A few minor corrections in other parts of the transcription may be noted: 185 ικοντ]ο̣   [; 196 ηρω]ω̣[ν, νϵώτϵρον (an intrusive gloss, cf. Hsch. υ 471); 197 ϵπ̣ϵλθέμ̣[ϵν; 1004 ϵ[πι.

Col. xvi
A fr. 17a

.   .

545   ] . [

[α]τρα[ποс

[π]αντ[εс

[ν]ηα κ[αι

[πο]ντ[ον

550   [Π]ηλιά[δεс

[ερ]γον [

[ηρ]ωαс [

[αυ]ταρ [

.   .

Col. xxix
B fr. 1a

992] ‿ ἀλλα γαρ αὖθι λελιπ[το

              c· ὃc δη

]‿ Ηρακλεη ⟦δη γαρ⟧ cφ[ι

Col. vi

170]ψε. The ed. pr. has]ψε̣, but the note shows that]ψε was meant.

171] ̣ [   ]   ̣ [. The ed. pr. gives] ̣ [   ]   ̣   [, describing the second as 'a vertical trace, perhaps but not certainly the last letter of the line (suitable for νεεсθα]ι)', but no ink seems to be visible. This is a short line, and we should not expect νεεсθαι to extend so far to the right.

172 The blank surface on fr. 4 is shown too far to the left in the ed. pr.

173 The traces should belong to εμβαcιλευε(ν), but they are too small to be matched with any degree of confidence.

174] ̣ [. Ko]λ[χιδα is possible, but the reading cannot be confirmed.

176 Υπε]ρα̣[cιον. The second trace is the left-hand side of α or δ. Ὑπεραcίου is the reading of Ω Σ^L (Vian). Σ^J has -ρηc-, corresponding to Ὑπερηcίην in *Il.* 2.573, where Apollonius himself perhaps read -ραc-: cf. West's apparatus.

υι]ε̣[c. The ed. pr. gives υιε]c̣, but the low trace on fr. 5 seems to belong to the same letter as a trace suggesting the top of ε on fr. 5a.

178 *s.l. Aχ̣[a]ι̣α̣.* The ed. pr. comments, 'I have tried αχ[a]ι̣α̣ (this would serve to distinguish the Achaean Aigialos (*Il.* 2.575; Paus. 7.1.1) from other places of the same name and from the noun αἰγιαλόc); but it looks too short for the space, and there is more ink than ι would account for'. The newly placed fragment, 5a, does not contribute directly to the text, but it may help to explain the spacing. The τ in 177 previously appeared to be complete at the foot and to stand on the line, but now fr. 5a gives it a tail extending down to the level of αχ[in the interlinear space. In order to avoid the tail, the scribe may well have begun writing [a] further to the right than we should otherwise have expected. If so, the restoration,

though uncertain, will at any rate not be too short. Then after the gap,]ι seems acceptable. M. W. Haslam (*CLGP* I.1.3 p. 7[1]) suggests ἐν Ἀχαίᾳ or Ἀχαίας, of which the latter may be just possible if ink is lost to abrasion on the right. There is no evidence of rubbing in the vicinity of the area to the left.

187 Ι[μβ]ρα[c]ίη[c· there appears to be supralinear ink in place for an acute accent.

] Ḥ[ρηc cannot be confirmed but seems suitable. The trace was not recorded in the ed. pr.

189 ἁ]ρε[οc. The ed. pr. notes 'unexplained interlinear ink', possibly 'the extremities of c or the like', but the lower stroke appears to be the top of ρ, and the upper is naturally taken to be the end of a flattened acute accent on the preceding letter. For the accent extending well to the right of the letter to which it applies, cf. e.g. 157 εξεγέ]νοντο.

ευχετοω]ντο [. ν is acceptable but cannot be confirmed.

191 The ed. pr. has] ̣ ̣[at the end from fr. 15.1, but fibre continuities indicate that fr. 15 belongs at 194–6, a placing mentioned as an alternative by the ed. pr. (193–4 n.).

Col. xvi

550 Π]ηλιά[δεc. The accent is due to the first hand, to judge by the colour of the ink.

Col. xxix

992 λελιπ[το. The ed. pr. gave λελε[ιπτο, but the iota is now certain and virtually complete. Vian prints λέλειπτο and λελει- throughout his edition in this verb, recording no variants, but no other papyrus evidence is available for Apollonius, and it is unclear which spelling should be preferred. For the problem and for the appearance of (-)λελι- in this verb in papyri of the *Iliad*, see West's edition, i p. xxxii, and his *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (2001) 30–31.
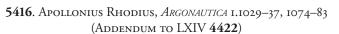
993 Ηρακλεη. The second eta is written on ω. The correction introduces the reading known from the other manuscripts, Ἡρακλέηc ὃc δή; then the new addition confirms the suggestion in the ed. pr. that the familiar cφ[ι followed on the line.

W. B. HENRY

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[1] An oversight on the same page may be corrected here. The intercolumnar signs in A fr. 1 described in the ed. pr. (156–8 n.: 'just above the level of 157, the lower part of an oblique rising to the right (cf. 985); lower down, three further traces one above another, of which the upper two might be the left-hand extremities of X (or of a *diple* or dotted *obelos*)') will apply to the column on the right, but that column (col. vi) is not 'lost' (so *CLGP*). The 'oblique' stood approximately at the level of 193 and may be the lower part of an *ancora* (↗) pointing to the lower margin where 192, omitted from the main text, is restored. For the *ancora*, cf. e.g. LXXX **5220** fr. 2.9, **5232** ii 37–8; K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri* (Pap. Brux. XXVI; 1992) 11–13. Or a simple ascending oblique may have been used with the same function: cf. e.g. LXVIII **4660** 98–100; McNamee 17. (Line 985, restored in the upper margin of col. xxix, has such an ascending oblique to its left, as the ed. pr. notes, but the left margin is not preserved at the corresponding point in the main text.) The traces lower down are not so easily explained. They are transcribed in the following line in the ed. pr. but seem rather to apply to 195.

5416. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* i.1029–37, 1074–83
(Addendum to LXIV **4422**)

117/59 (fr. 1), 88/344 (fr. 2)   5.4 × 7.4 cm (fr. 1), 3.7 × 7.9 cm (fr. 2)   Second/third century

Two fragments giving parts of the tops of two neighbouring columns. **4422** also consists of two fragments (1.972–81, 1089–94), both from boxes of papyri gathered by Lobel from elsewhere in the collection; **4422** fr. 2 belongs to the same column as **5416** fr. 2.

The top margin survives in fr. 1 to 2.2 cm, probably very close to its original height; the intercolumnium extant in fr. 1 is 3 cm wide. The column of which fr. 1 gives the top must have contained 45 lines (1029–73), and would have been *c.* 27 cm high. Twenty-three columns would have preceded it. The fragments are blank on the back; there is writing only on a repair patch visible on the back of fr. 1. The edge of a sheet-join runs vertically 0.2 cm to the left of the column of writing in fr. 1.

Elision is effected but not signalled by the scribe (1074, 1075, 1083); the same practice is to be observed in **4422** (974, 1090: the apostrophe printed there is not in the papyrus). A second hand added an apostrophe in greyer ink at 1079 but left τ unaspirated before ὁμοῦ (cf. **5417** 25 n.). There are no other lection signs. The original scribe wrote iota adscript at 1082.

There is a new false variant at 1082. No other papyri include these verses.

Fr. 1   Fr. 2

   δεινος τ[ε   [αλ]λ αυτως αφ[λεκτα
1030 ουδ ο γε δ[ηιοτητος   1075 [εν]θ ετι νυν ευ[τ
   οικαδ[ε] ν[υμφιδιους   [Κυ]ζ[ι]κον εννα̣ι̣[οντες
   αλλα̣ [[πα]νδημοιο μ[υλης
   [[εκ δ]ε̣ τοθεν τρη[χειαι
   ο̣στεο[ν   [ημα]τ' ομου νυ[κτας
1035 μοιρα[ν   1080 [ναυ]τιλλεσθαι [
   θνητ[οισιν   [ωλλο]ι̣ μεν ρα πα̣[ρος
   [ω]ς̣ τ̣[ον   [υπν]ωι αριστηος [
    . . . .   [Μοψος] τ Αμπυ̣[κιδης

              . . . .

Fr. 1

 1029–30 Fränkel, following Heyne, marked a lacuna after 1029; against, see Vian (i 98 n. 5). The proposal is not borne out by the papyrus. Cf. in general Haslam 67.

Fr. 2

 1082 αριστηος: ἀριστῆες Ω. The genitive singular is unsuitable; the error may be due to a graphic confusion.

<div align="right">N. GONIS</div>

5417. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 2.10–15, 23–33, 164–7, 171–2, 221–6, 743–4, 767–74, 784–90, 825–43, 886–93, 896–8, 901–8, 916–20, 924–33, 939–54, 957–62, 972–7, 983–92, 999–1018 (?), 1056–60, 1116–23

87/355 + 356   Fr. 23 7 × 6.9 cm   Second century

Some thirty fragments from a papyrus roll of Book 2 of the *Argonautica*, most of them belonging to the last third of the book. The writing runs along the fibres, and the back is blank. The upper and lower margins are preserved to a depth of 4.7 cm (fr. 8) and 4.6 cm (fr. 26) respectively. The intercolumnium measures *c.* 2.5 cm in fr. 30.

A calculation of the height and the number of columns can be attempted. If the extra line 945a is included, 224 lines separate the top of fr. 8 (with upper margin, starting at 767) from the foot of fr. 26 (with lower margin, ending in 989). Frr. 27–30, from the column immediately following fr. 26, give lines 990–1018, with two lines between 1016 and 1018 (see 1015a–d n.). A column in this roll must therefore have included a minimum of 30 lines. The 224 lines between fr. 8 and fr. 26 will be best accommodated in 6 columns of about 37–8 lines each. The alternatives of 7 columns of 32 lines or 5 columns of *c.* 45 lines would not suit the columnar distribution of lines in some of the fragments. Line 766, then, will be the last of col. 20: it is the 768th line of the book when 381a–b are included in the count, and 768/20 = 38.4. As 10 lines of frr. 28–30 occupy a space about 4.5 cm high, the column height was *c.* 17 cm and the roll height including margins about 17 + 4.7 + 4.6 = 26.3 cm. Column numbers are assigned to the fragments below in accordance with this reconstruction, which is largely indebted to Ben Henry.

The papyrus is written in a smallish informal round hand, with occasional ligatures between letters (e.g. $\tau\iota$ at 835). ϵ is sometimes written cursively, with the cap and crossbar made in a single movement (e.g. 941). κ is formed both in one (e.g. 951) and in two movements. υ is often v-shaped. The hand has many affinities with that of **5421**, but the two cannot be identified: contrast their sizes and the different shapes of e.g. δ (whose right arm extends significantly beyond the apex in **5421**) and κ (whose arms meet on the upright in **5421**). The hand may be assigned to the second century on the basis of the parallels cited in **5421** introd.

Lectional signs include acute and circumflex accents, rough breathings in Turner's form 1, apostrophes marking elision and separating the elements of a compound word (1117), diaereses, and macrons (959, 1013). In a few cases, the shade of the ink suggests that the signs were written later than the main text. Iota adscript is correctly written in five places and omitted twice (786, 839). Elision is always effected and is regularly marked where one can tell, except at 945. Movable ν is consistently added at verse-end. There are itacisms ($\epsilon\iota$ for ι) at 27 (as corrected) and 906, and a further phonetic spelling (-ψ- for -$\mu\psi$-) at 1010. A few corrections, interlinear additions, and apparently a marginal gloss (33) are due to one or more other hands. The accidental omission of a syllable at 948 was left uncorrected.

The papyrus confirms Naber's conjectures at 171 ($\lambda\alpha\iota\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ for $\nu\epsilon\phi\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$) and 906 ($\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\epsilon\tau o$), though in the latter instance a second hand restores the medieval manuscripts' $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\epsilon\alpha\tau o$, showing that it was an ancient variant. Brunck's emendation of $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\mu\eta\lambda\epsilon(\nu)$ to $\mu\epsilon\mu\acute{\eta}\lambda\epsilon\iota$ in 989 is also corroborated. There are several new readings. The most striking is the

apparent overlap with a half-line from Callimachus' *Hecale* at 32. That at 165 (περάτης for περάτων) should probably be accepted, while others are of uncertain value (223, 984, 1002) or seem more or less clearly corrupt (27, 831, 833, 941, 1003). The new reading at 949 is only preserved in part but may be of value, and the dialectal variant ὅκως at 768 is of possible interest. There are significant agreements with $Π^{16}$ against the medieval tradition at 920 and with E and the scholia of A against $Ω$ and the scholia of L at 1060. The papyrus is the only representative of the direct tradition to preserve the truth in agreement with the testimonia at 908.

5417 also attests to the existence of verses no longer present in the medieval manuscripts. Along with $Π^{16}$, it preserves an otherwise unknown line after 945; unfortunately the text of both witnesses is too damaged to be restored. In 1016ff., the papyrus seems to confirm Platt's deletion of 1017, and suggests that this doublet of 381b displaced two original verses.
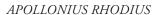
The only published papyri overlapping the portions of lines preserved by **5417** are XXXIV **2694** = $Π^{16}$ (II) at 918–20, 924–5, 939–43 and XXXIV **2702** = $Π^{17}$ (late VI; cf. **5422**) at 1008–10.

Fr. 1 (col. i)

.   .   .   .

10   εκφατ]ο μυθο̣ν [

                 υμμι]ν̣ εοικεν [

                   νεεϲ]θαι

              πελαϲϲ]η̣ι

                     α]ειραι

15   ομ]ιλ̣ο̣υ̣ [

.   .   .   .

Frr. 2–3 (col. i)

.   .   .   .

              ] . . [

            α]ν̣τια[αϲθαι]

25   εϲεδρα]κεν ομματ' ελιξ̣[αϲ]

       τετυ]μμενοϲ· ὃν τ' εν ορεϲϲιν̣ [

                 (m. 2) μειλω[

        ι]λ̣λομε̣νοϲ περ' οδοιο

         ο]ϲϲεται οιόθεν οιοϲ

        πα]ρ̣οιτατοϲ [ο]υδ' εδαμαϲϲ̣[εν]

30   θε]το φαροϲ

                  ] ε̣ιναι

$$] \, . \, το \, λαιφην \, [$$
$$τρηχει]αν \quad (m. \, 2?) \quad . \, οι[$$

. . . .

Fr. 4 (col. v)   Fr. 5 (col. v)

. . .   . .

$$ηε]λιο[c$$ 171 $$λ]αιφε[ων$$
165   $$] \, . \, ανι[ων$$ $$κ]ακον \, [$$
$$λυ]cαμ[ενοι$$ . .
$$εις]βηca[ντες$$

. . .

Fr. 6 (col. vi)   Fr. 7 (col. xx)

. . . .

$$γηρα]c \, αμ[ηρυτον$$ 743 $$Αχερο]ντο[c$$
$$πικροτα]τον \, κ[ρεμαται$$ $$α]λα \, β[αλλων]$$
$$] \, με[υ$$ . . . .
$$] \, κατ[αιccουcαι$$
225   $$μητ]ιν \, ε[πιρροθον$$
$$] \, . \, . \, [$$

. . . .

Fr. 8 (col. xxi)

$$αεκον]τι \, νοωι \, Γλα[υκοιο$$
$$Βεβρ]υκας \, οκως \, Α[μυκον$$
$$εειπ]ε \, θεοπροπ[ιας$$
770   $$Κυανεα]c \, πετρας \, φυγον \, [$$
$$κατ]α \, νηcον· \, ο \, δ' \, εξειη[c$$
$$ακουη]ι \, θυμον· \, αχος \, δ' \, ελεν \, [$$
$$] \, και \, τοιον \, επος \, παντ[εccι$$
$$φωτ]ος \, αποπ[λαγχθ]ε[ντες$$

. . . . . .

Frr. 9–10 (col. xxi)

.   .   .   .   .

παντ]εϲϲι μετεπρεπ[εν
785   χα]μαδιϲ δέ ὅι ηλαϲ [
                    ] εμω υπο [
            ομ]ώλακαϲ η[μιν
                    ] κτεατίϲϲα[το
                    ] ϲκοπελο[ν
790   Πελοπ]ήι[οι

.   .   .   .   .

Frr. 11–14 (col. xxii)

.   .   .   .

825   [υψι] μαλ [
        [αι]γδην· μ[εϲϲαϲ
        [οξ]υ δ᾽ ο γε [
        [α]θροοι α[ντιαχηϲαν
        [Πη]λευϲ α[ιγανεην φυγα]δ ειϲ [
830   [κα]πριου εϲ[ϲυτο δ αυ]θιϲ ενα[ντιοϲ
        [ουτ]αϲε· βεβρ[υ]χωϲ [δε θ]ρωϲ πε[ρικαππεϲε
        [και τ]ον μεν χα[μαδι]ϲ λιπον [
        [τον δ] ετερωϲ επ[ι νηα φ]ερον ψ[υχορραγεοντα]
        [αχνυ]μενοι· χειρ[εϲϲι δ] ε[ων] εν[ικατθαν
835   [ενθα] δε ναυτιλ[ιηϲ] μεν ερη[τυοντο
        [αμφι] δε κηδειη[ι νεκ]υοϲ μεν[ον
        [ηματ]α δε τρια πα[ντα] γοων· ε[τερωι
        [ταρχυ]ον μεγαλ[ωϲτι] ϲυνεκ[τερειζε
        [αυτωι] ομου βαϲι[ληι Λ]υκω· π[αρα
840   [η θε]μιϲ οιχομενοιϲι [ταφηια
        [και δή τ]οι κεχυται [
        [τυμβοϲ ϲη]μα δ᾽ επε[ϲτι
        [νηιοϲ εκ κοτιν]οιο φα[λαγξ

.   .   .   .

Frr. 15–16 (col. xxiv)   Fr. 17 (col. xxiv)

$$\qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot$$

$[Aιακι]δη\ [$ 896 $Eργινο]ς\ και\ N[αυπλιος$

$[ους\ μ]εν\ [$ $]\ λ\dot{ε}λιημ\dot{}[ενοι$

$[οι\ δε]\ κα\dot{τ}[ηφησαντες$ $δ]ε\ πο\dot{λ}[εις$

$[τω\ και]\ oμ[ου$ $\qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot$

890    $[ει]\ δη\ μη[τ$

$\dot{ε}σσεται·\ η[ε$

$\dot{π}ετρα\dot{ω}[ν$

$ακλε[ιως$

$$\qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot$$

Frr. 18–19 (col. xxiv)

$$\qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot$$

$].\,[.\,.\,].\,[$

$ε[κ\ δ\ εχεαν\ πισυνοι\ α]νεμω[ι]\ λινα·\ \dot{π}[ουλυ$

$λαιφ[εων\ πεπταμεν]ων\ τεμνον\ [$

$ωκα\ δ\dot{ε}\ [Καλλιχοροιο\ παρ]\dot{α}\ προχοας\ π\dot{ο}[ταμοιο]$

905    $ηλυθ[ον\ ενθ\ ενεπου]σι\ Διος\ Nυς[\![ς]\!]ηι[ον$

$\qquad\qquad\qquad ^{(m.\ 2)\ a}$

$λι]\dot{π}ων\ κατενει[σετο$

$χορο]υς\ αντροιο\ πα[ροιθεν]$

$αγι]\dot{α}ς\ ηυλιζετο\ [$

$$\qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot$$

Fr. 20 (col. xxiv)

$$\qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot$$

$πολυδ]\dot{α}\dot{κ}[ρυον$

$oμη]\dot{θ}έας\ αν[δρας$

$επι]βας\ \dot{ς}[κοπιαζετο$

$]\ \ddot{ι}εν·\ α[μφι$

920    $]\ απε\dot{λ}[αμπετο$

$$\qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot \qquad \cdot$$

Frr. 21–2 (col. xxv)

.   .   .   .   .   .

λαιφ]ος cπαcαν· εκ [

925   Cθενε]λου ταφον αμφε[πενοντο]

εν]τομα μηλων̣ [

Απ]ο̣λλων̣[ι]

α]ν̣ δ[ε

ουν]ο̣μα χ[ωρωι]

930   κατα]c̣περ̣[χ]οντος̣ ε̣[βηcαν]

ερυ]cc̣άμενοι ταν̣[υοντο]

] πε̣λ̣αγ̣ος πε̣[φορητο]

υ]ψ̣[οθι

.   .   .   .   .   .

Fr. 23 (col. xxv)

.   .   .   .

δεμ]ας ϊμερτοις[ι]ν̣ α̣[ναψυχει

940   ε]π̣ειτ αλ̣[λ]ηκτον επι[προτερωcε

α]ι̣π̣εινουc τε̣ παρεξεχέοντ̣ [Ε]ρυ̣[θινουc]

Κρ]ῶ̣μναν τε και υληεντα Κ[υ]τωρον·

αυτ]ε̣ Κάραμβιν [α]μ̣̄' ηελιοιο βο[λ]ηιcιν

] παρα Πουλυν [επει]τ̣' ηλαυνον [ε]ρετμοιc

945   ].̣.̣.[κ]αι̣ επ ημ̣ατι νυκτα·

945a   ].̣ειπε̣.[.̣.̣].̣ciν·

]ν χθ̣ο̣νος· ε[νθ]α̣ Cι̣νωπην

καθι]ccατο· και οι̣ [οπ]αccεν

] ϋποcχεηιc[ι] δο̣λωθειc·

]c εελδετο· ν[ε]υcε δ' ε̣.̣.̣.[

950   μ]ετα φρεcιν ιθ̣[υcειεν]

ηιτηc]ατο κερδοcυν[ηιcιν]

πα]ρ̣ηπαφεν ευν[ηθηναι]

τ]οις Άλυν· ο̣[υδε

α]γκοιν̣η̣[ιcι

.   .   .   .

Fr. 24 (col. xxvi)

. . .

[τη]μ[ος
] οι ρα τοθ [
] cφᾱc αυ[τουc
960] ουδέτι [
] Aργεcτ[αο
[τ]οιcι δ’ο[μου

. . .

Fr. 25 (col. xxvi)

. . . .

] ρεε[θρα]
ανδι]χα βαλλω[ν]
] τιc εκαc[τα]
975 επλετ]ο πηγη [
ηπει]ρον δε [
κλειε]cθαι·

. . . .

Fr. 26 (col. xxvi)

. . . . . .

αμφ]αδον [α]μμιγ[α] παυροι[c]
ϋ]περευγεται αλμην
985 Aμαζο]νιδεcc[ι]ν εμειξαν
] γ εριδηναν·
επητε]εc· ουδε θεμιcταc
αμφ]ενεμοντο·
ερ]γ’ εμεμηλει·

Fr. 27 (col. xxvii)

990 ? δη γ]αρ και γεν[εην
[Νυμφη]c ἢ τ’ Αρηϊ [
[αλcεοc] Ακμον[ιοιο

. . . .

Frr. 28–30 (cols. xxvi–xxvii)

Col. xxvi   Col. xxvii

.   .   .   .

                                              ] αμφ[ενεμοντο]

1000   Χαδηϲια]ι̣ ηματι [

                            Χαλυβω]ν παρα γα[ιαν

                                              (m. 2) δ
                               ] μελει· ου‖τ‖ε τ[ιϲ

        [φυτ]α̣λ̣ι̣η̣ [καρποιο μελιφρονο]ϲ· ουδε μεν ο̈ιδε [

        π̣οιμ[ναϲ ερϲηεντι νομωι ενι π]οιμαινουϲιν·

1005   αλλα̣ [ϲιδηροφορον ϲτυφελην χθ]ο̣ν̣α̣ γατ‖ε‖ομέο̣ν[τεϲ]

        ω̑νον [αμειβονται βιοτηϲιον ουδε ποτε] ϲφιν [

        ηωϲ α̣[ντελλει καματων ατερ αλλα κελ]α̣ινη̣ι [

        λιγνυι [και καπνωι καματον βαρυν οτλευ]ουϲιν̣ [

        τουϲ δ[ε

.   .

]   1010   γναψ[αντεϲ

]   [εν]θ̣’ επ̣[ει

].   αυτοι μ̣[εν

]   κρ̣ά̣ατ[α

] .   ανερα̣[ϲ

]   1015   Ϊε̣ρο̣[ν

]   1015a   [(.)] . [

]   1015b   [. . .] . . [

]   1015c   α̣ . [

] . ι   1015d   α̣ . [

.   .   .   .

Fr. 31 (col. xxviii)

            .   .

        [δ]ου̣π[ει

        ]̣ τ̣ηλο̑υ [

        ]̣ τω κα[ι

        ]̣ α̣υτοϲ [

  1060   ]̣ ενθε[μενοι

            .   .

Fr. 32 (col. xxx)

.   .   .   .   .

κατε]ναντια [

υπερβ]ιοι αμφ'ενεμ[οντο]

] δουρατι κυμ[ατος

ηιονα]ϲ βαλε νηϲου [

1120   μυριο]ν εκ Διοϲ [υδωρ]

εγγυθε]ν αντ[εβοληϲαν]

εκφ]ατο μ[υθον]

] . [

.   .   .   .   .

Frr. 2–3

23] ̣ ̣[: a broad lower arc, then a dot at line level, compatible with e.g. υπειξομ]ε̣ν.

25 ο]μματ': ὄμμαθ' Ω. The unaspirated spelling implies that ἐλίξαϲ follows. In manuscripts of Homer, the verb is more commonly given with a smooth than with a rough breathing according to LSJ s.v. ἑλίϲϲω; see Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* i 184–8, M. L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (2001) 32, and cf. esp. *Il.* 23.309, 846. This is the only instance of the verb in Apollonius preceded by elision and a consonant admitting aspiration. For evidence of loss of initial aspiration in documentary papyri, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 133–5, and for the phenomenon in literary papyri, cf. C. Austin, *Menandri Aspis et Samia* i (1969) 64 (Q(a)).

27 περ': περ Ω: περὶ *Et. Gen.*: παρ' *EM*. The apostrophe was perhaps added to make some sense of the corrupt ὁδοῖο; for the elision of περί, rare in epic, cf. LSJ s.v. G. The concessive particle περ is needed with the participle.

οδοιο: the supralinear μειλω[(l. ὁμίλῳ), written in a rapid cursive, restores the reading of all the medieval manuscripts (μήλων *Et. Gen.*ᴮ before correction). ὁδοῖο must have been produced by an absent-minded recollection of the common Homeric verse-end phrase -όμενόϲ (*vel sim.*) περ ὁδοῖο: *Od.* 1.309, 315, 3.284, 4.733, 15.49, *h.Merc.* 299.

28 οιοϲ with Ω and the scholia: οἶον Zᵞᵖ. The latter reading, referring to the man who wounds the lion rather than the lion itself, is a Renaissance conjecture, also made independently by Huet (cf. F. Vian, *RHT* 5 (1975) 94), Struve, and Madvig, and adopted by Vian in his edition; see Cuypers ad loc. for a discussion. The papyrus shows that the corruption occurred early.

29 ο]υδ' εδαμαϲϲ[εν] with A *w* E and testimonia: οὐδὲ δ- L. Cuypers ad loc. argues that Apollonius always opts for elision and augment in such situations.

32] ̣το λαιφην: a new reading where the remainder of the paradosis has ὁ δ' ἐρεμνὴν δίπτυχα λώπην (one of only six examples in Apollonius of word-end following contracted fourth biceps without preceding feminine caesura: A. Platt, *JPh* 33 (1914) 3). The form λαίφη for early epic λαῖφοϲ ('shabby, tattered garment') is otherwise known only from Call. *Hec.* fr. 28 Hollis = 239 Pf. διερὴν δ' ἀπεϲείϲατο λαίφην, 'he shook off his wet cloak', apparently said of Theseus entering Hecale's hut. The etymologica quoting the hemistich attribute it to Callimachus, and it was assigned to the *Hecale* by Schneider in his edition (fr. 245). The small high trace before το seems compatible with the top of the upper loop of alpha (less likely epsilon, e.g. θ]ε̣το as at 30). The change of subject from Pollux to Amycus requires ὁ δ(έ) in

line 32, but ὁ δ᾽ ἀπεϲείϲατο λαίφην would be unmetrical, unless e.g. ὁ δ᾽ ἑὴν ἀπεϲείϲατο λαίφην (WBH) was written. The reading of the medieval manuscripts recalls *Od.* 13.224 δίπτυχον ἀμφ᾽ ὤμοιϲιν ἔχουϲ᾽ εὐεργέα λώπην. [Theoc.] 25.254 has ἀπ᾽ ὤμων δίπλακα λώπην at verse-end, referring to the cloak of Heracles in his combat with the Nemean lion. This seems to combine the Homeric and Apollonian passages and thus suggests that the author of that poem had read δίπτυχα λώπην in Apollonius. Unless it is an authorial variant, the Callimachean phrase perhaps entered the text via a marginal comment in which λώπη ~ λῶποϲ in Apollonius was compared to λαίφη ~ λαῖφοϲ in Callimachus.

33 ̣οι[. The import of this marginal annotation is unclear. If it relates to this line rather than the corresponding line in the next column, it is perhaps part of an explanation of the rare noun καλαῦροψ, which the scholia gloss as ποιμενικὴν ῥάβδον. The initial letter begins with an upright, but the traces then become smudged and indistinct: it could be a π. The few letters that remain of this annotation do not have the same cursive character as the interlinear addition above 27 and so may be due to a different hand.

Fr. 4

165] ̣ανι[ων. The medieval manuscripts read ἐκ περάτων ἀνιών. The trace after the break is certainly incompatible with nu and looks like the tip of the cap of sigma. Presumably the papyrus had [ἐκ περάτη]ϲ (sc. χώραϲ), as in 1.1281 Ἠὼϲ | ἐκ περάτηϲ ἀνιοῦϲα; cf. Arat. 821 ἐκ περάτηϲ ἀνιόντι (of the sun, at verse-end). περάτων will have been a banalization: the plural is familiar, whereas περάτη is rare and poetic (see Matteo on A. R. 2.1089). περάτων also often requires the specification γῆϲ *vel sim.*, e.g. Alc. fr. 350.1 L.–P. ἐκ περάτων γᾶϲ, Thuc. 1.69.5 ἐκ περάτων γῆϲ, though cf. Q. S. 8.2 ἐκ περάτων ἀνιόντοϲ, 9.2 ἔγρετο δ᾽ Ἠὼϲ | ἐκ περάτων (did Quintus read the plural form in his copy of Apollonius?). An oblique stroke cutting through the top of iota seems too low to be an acute accent. It may belong to interlinear text. An accent would be incorrect here, unless it was meant to go with omega.

Fr. 5

171 λ]αιφε[ων: so Naber's conjecture (also made independently by Lloyd-Jones and adopted by Fränkel) for Ω's νεφέων (retained and defended by Vian). 'Apollonius was not addicted to wild hyperbole, and cannot have said that the waves rose above the clouds' (M. L. West, *CR* 13 (1963) 10, proposing as an alternative solution ὑπαὶ νεφέων). See further Cuypers ad loc. The corruption is easy, since αι and ε were pronounced identically and lambda can easily be confused with the first leg and diagonal of nu. Line 173 perhaps also had a role to play in the process, but that passage is itself corrupt in the manuscripts (ὑπὲρ νέφοϲ *w*: ὑπὲρ νέφεοϲ L A: ὥϲ τε νέφοϲ Ardizzoni: ὑπερηρεφέϲ or ὑπερηφερέϲ Merkel).

Fr. 6

222 πικρότα]τον restored with Ω and the scholia: πικρότερον M. L. West, *CR* 13 (1963) 10. One can see the tip of the bar of tau touching the top of omicron. See Cuypers ad loc.

223 με[υ: a new reading for the medieval manuscripts' μοι. The two forms are a common pair of variants; cf. West, *Il.* praef. p. xxxii, *Od.* praef. p. xxii. The genitive pronoun recurs at 4.1654 κέκλυτέ μευ.

226] ̣ ̣[: two specks of ink.

Fr. 8

768 οκωϲ: a new spelling of the medieval manuscripts' ὅπωϲ. The manuscripts of Apollonius, like those of Homer, do not elsewhere present the Ionic form of this adverb. For a comparable intrusion of an Ionic form, cf.] ̣κοτε for ποτε at 1.177 in LXIV **4414** with the note ad loc. WBH suggests that the kappa may be due to the influence of Βέβρυκαϲ immediately before (cf. 831 n.).

771 δ': the apostrophe is smudged.

772 The alpha of αχος is corrected from another letter, apparently epsilon.

Frr. 9–10

790 Πελοπ]ήϊ[οι. The high trace after ή may belong to a diaeresis above ι rather than the top of ι.

Frr. 11–14

830 αυ]θις: αὖτις Ω. See Vian i p. lxxii for the variable spelling of this particle in the manuscripts.

831 θ]οωϲ: a new reading for the medieval manuscripts' θοῶ. The adverb is banal in comparison with the adjective in agreement with δουρί, on which see Matteo ad loc. Perhaps it arose through the influence of preceding βεβρυχώϲ or through the recollection of *Il.* 5.533 ἀκόντιϲε δουρὶ θοῶϲ. The end of a thin horizontal is visible above ο, but it is unclear what it could represent.

833 ετερωϲ: a new reading for the medieval manuscripts' ἕταροι. The adverb ἑτέρωϲ would be meaningless, while ἑτέρωϲ(ε) ('elsewhither, aside') would be awkward with the specific direction ἐπὶ νῆα immediately following.

841 Only the accent of δή is preserved.

Frr. 18–19

901] . [. .] . [:] δ[ιεξ]ε[περηϲαν seems compatible with the space and traces.

905 Νυϲ[[ϲ]]ηι[ον: Νυϲήϊον Ω *EM Et. Gen.*ᴮ, Νυϲϲ- E; see Vian i p. lxxv and cf. Ludwich's apparatus at *Il.* 6.133.

(m. 2) α
906 κατενει[ϲετο: κατενίϲϲετο Naber: κατενάϲϲατο Ω. The original reading confirms that Naber's conjecture was an ancient variant. The interlinear addition, presumably accompanied by a change of -ϲ(ϲ)ετο to -ϲϲατο, restores the reading of the medieval manuscripts. The verb of motion κατενίϲ(ϲ)ετο, adopted by Fränkel, is otherwise found only at 2.976 and Hermesian. fr. 7.65 Powell = fr. 3.65 Lightfoot; on the orthography see **5423** 447 n. It provides better sense: Dionysus is still on his way to Thebes and not settled there when he stops by the Callichorus river. The likely source of the corruption is 2.519–20 λίπεν δ' ὅ γε πατρὸς ἐφετμῇ | Φθίην· ἐν δὲ Κέῳ κατενάϲϲατο. Vian ad loc., however, defends κατενάϲϲατο here.

908 ηυλιζετο with the quotations in the etymologica (*Et. Gen.*, *EM*, *Et. Symeon.* s.v. ἀμείδητος): εὐνάζετο Ω. The latter reading is nonsensical: the sentence refers to Dionysus' nocturnal rites rather than his sleep, and we require an explanation for the etymology of Αὔλιον ἄντρον in 910 (cf. *Et. Gen.*: παρὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ αὐλιϲθῆναι τὸν Διόνυϲον).

Fr. 20

920 απελ[αμπετο with *Π*¹⁶ (απ[), adopted by Vian: ἐπελάμπετο Ω: ὑπελάμπετο or ὕπο λάμπετο Fränkel. It is difficult to choose between these variants: see **2694** n. ad loc., Fränkel, *Einleitung* 12, id., *Noten* 248–9, and Matteo ad loc.

Frr. 21–2

926 μηλων̣ is the majority reading. *EM* s.v. χύτλα has μῆλα. Cf. 1.587.

Fr. 23

941 παρεξεχέοντ [: a new reading for παρεξενέοντ' in Ω and παρεξερέοντ' in E. παρεκχέω is a prosaic verb, usually applied to rivers and lakes with the sense of 'overflow' (Str. 16.2.33, D. S. 5.47), and seems inappropriate here. παρεξενέοντο recurs at 651 and 1243; cf. παρανέομαι at 357.

942 *Κρ]ῶμναν*: so accented by modern editors. It is paroxytone in the other manuscripts and testimonia. In *Il.* 2.855, the manuscripts are divided between the two accentuations; see Ludwich's apparatus.

945] . . . [: three specks level with the letter-tops, too minute for secure identification (η]μαρ?).

κ]αι επ with *w* : ἐπ' L A, ἐπὶ E.

945a] . ειπε . [. .] . cιν. This line is not transmitted by the medieval manuscripts. Traces:] , a horizontal touching ε at mid-height (e.g. γ, ε, c, τ); . [, an upright thickening at the top, probably with a join from the right (ν, ρ possible);] ., a dot level with the letter-tops. *Π*[16] = **2694** also preserves parts of two lines between 944 and 946 where the medieval manuscripts have only one. They begin about six letters from the left margin and are printed as follows (the interlinear addition above 945 is in a different hand):

```
          ]ερτ[
945       ]ροι . . . . [ . ] . [
945a      ] . η . ιλι . η . . . [
```

The editor believed that the traces from the first line were incompatible with the medieval text and that the two lines were therefore 'variant lines in circulation in antiquity as alternatives to 945', but cf. the doubts of Haslam 62–3. **5417** now shows that at least the end of the line after 944 accords with the familiar text and cannot be considered an alternative line. In fact, the beginning of that line in **2694** is virtually illegible, so that it is difficult to confirm or exclude the medieval manuscripts' reading for 945 (αιγιαλον) with any confidence: ρ before the putative omicron is particularly hard to see. The editor pronounced himself with less certainty in the *editio princeps* in *BICS* 7 (1960) 51. His original transcription of 945a on p. 47 also seems to me more accurate than the one provided in **2694**:]ε[.]πλι[.]υc . . . [(π is the most uncertain letter, and a low trace is visible between ι and υ).

947 *καθι]ccατο* with L A G: *καθίcατο* S *d*: *καθίcτατο* E.

και. There is an uncertain interlinear trace above the alpha, perhaps connected to a short upright under the sigma of *χθονοc* above.

948 *ϋποcχεηιc[ι]*: a mistake for *ὑποcχεcίηιcι.*

949 *ε* . . . [: a new reading where the medieval manuscripts have ὅ γ' αὐτῇ. The first trace is a high horizontal, e.g. π or τ. The second is the top of o or c directly adjoining the next letter, which is represented by a thick dot level with letter tops. WBH suggests restoring ετοι[μωc; cf. at verse-end Opp. 3.520, 4.433, 604, and the expression ἑτοίμωc διδόναι at IG II² 956.24, 958.20 (II BC). 'The clarifying ὅ γ' αὐτῇ displaced the original reading like ὅ γε in 4.278 (**5425**).' ὅ is unnecessary, since there is no change of subject from the previous sentence, and ἑτοίμωc provides good sense: 'and he promised to give (her) readily whatever her heart desired.'

Fr. 24

960 *ουδέτι* may represent οὐδέ τι (Ω) or οὐδ' ἔτι (A, accepted by Vian): there is a lacuna in the papyrus where the apostrophe would have stood.

Fr. 26

984 *ϋ]περευγεται*: the right-hand dot of a diaeresis is visible, implying the reading of Ω and the scholia: ἀπερ- Q C Ruhnken: ἐπερ- M.

αλμην: a new reading: ἄκρην Ω and scholia: ἀκτήν Q: ἄχνην Ruhnken, comparing D. P. 693 (the river Phasis) Εὐξείνου ποτὶ χεῦμα θοὴν ἀπερεύγεται ἄχνην. The papyrus' reading provides acceptable sense prima facie: the Thermodon river 'vomits (its waters) under the swollen brine (of the Black Sea)'. For the transitive use of the verb, compare 4.631 τῇ μέν τ' ἐπερεύγεται ἀκτὰc | Ὠκεανοῦ (sc. the Rhône)

and 4.1242 ἂψ ἐπερεύγεται ἀκτάϲ (sc. the flood-tide). κυρτόϲ is compatible with ἄλμη, since the adjective can have the sense of 'bulging, swelling' (LSJ s.v. 1; cf. Matteo on A. R. 2.581). As WBH notes, however, ἄλμην 'duplicates πόντον, whereas ὑπερεύγεται ἄκρην contributes worthwhile information and can be defended by reference to 371 (so Vian's apparatus)'. For a similar corruption, cf. 2.323 (ἀκτῇ Ω, ἀκτή E *EM*: ἄλμη D) with G. Speake, *GRBS* 15 (1974) 129.

985 εμειξαν: on the spelling, cf. West, *Il.* praef. p. xxxii.

986 `γ´ with Ω, omitted by S. The supralinear addition, probably in the hand of the main scribe, either makes up for an omission of the particle or corrects a kappa on the line (WBH).

989 ερ]γʹ εμεμηλει: ἔργα μέμηλε(ν) Ω: ἔργα μεμήλει Brunck. The papyrus confirms Brunck's emendation of the verb to the pluperfect ('hoc flagitat temporum ratio'; cf. *Il.* 2.614 θαλάϲϲια ἔργα μεμήλει), but with the addition of the augment. For a similar set of variants, WBH points to *Il.* 13.713 (ἔργα μέμηλε Strabo: ἔργ᾽ ἐμεμήλει Τ^γρ).

Fr. 27

990 [? δη γ]αρ. Unless the letters δη were unusually wide, the supplement from the paradosis is too short for the available space: ρ is aligned with ἡ in 991. WBH notes that [Ἄρηοϲ γ]ὰρ καὶ γεν[εὴν ἔϲαν Ἁρμονίηϲ τε] would fit, comparing for the rhythm 1203, 3.115; Bulloch on Call. *H.* 5.103.

992 Ἀκμον[ιοιο with Ω, the testimonia, and the lemma to Σ^A: Ἁλκμονίοιο E (apparently after correction) and the rest of the scholia. The angle and low point at which the obliques meet are incompatible with lambda.

Frr. 28–30

The traces from the line-ends of the first column are too meagre to identify with confidence. The column ended with 989 in fr. 26. According to the reconstruction proposed in the introduction, it should have begun around 954. The traces here cannot belong to 975–7 (fr. 25) or 984–9 (fr. 26), which are complete on the right. The trace and stop opposite 1014 could correspond to 973 βαλλω]νʹ (following βαλλω[in fr. 25: the fibres of the two fragments seem to match) and the stop opposite 1012 with 971 νιϲομενοιϲι]ʹ. The traces opposite 1015d, however, do not match the end of 978 or 979 (a shorter line) and may belong to a marginal annotation (cf. 33).

(*m.* 2) δ
1002 ου[[τ]]ε: οὔτε with Ω, οὐδέ with E. οὔτε … οὐδέ can give 'the effect of climax in the second limb' (Denniston, *Greek Particles* 193), but this does not seem particularly desirable here, and the variant could have arisen from οὐδέ immediately below in 1003. WBH, however, compares οὔτε … οὐδέ at 1.1190–91.

1003 ὁιδε: a new reading where the medieval manuscripts give οἵ γε. For similar variants, cf. e.g. 3.117 (τώ γε, v.l. τώδε at line-end), 4.1023 (τῆϲδε, v.l. τῆϲ γε). The emphatic demonstrative οἵδε is unwanted after τοῖϲι in 1002.

1005 γατ[[ε]]ομεον[τεϲ]: γατομέοντεϲ with Ω (γηγτ- *Et. Gen.*^B). The superfluous epsilon was deleted with a short oblique stroke; it is not clear whether the deletion was carried out by the original scribe *currente calamo* or by the second hand. Schneider's λατομέοντεϲ, recently revived by J. F. Gaertner, *Hermes* 145 (2017) 97–108, is not supported.

1010 γναψ[αντεϲ: read γνάμψαντεϲ. For the omission of mu before a labial stop, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 117. The same spelling is found in some manuscripts at *Il.* 21.178, 23.731.

1015 Ἴερο[ν: Schneider's Ἱρὸν δ᾽ is not supported.

1015a–d As there is a paucity of traces and the text is problematic, it is difficult to offer a secure restoration of the lines following 1015. 1016 was omitted by L, no doubt accidentally, and restored in the

margin by the second hand. 1017, which is identical to 381b, was deleted by Platt; see Fränkel, *Einleitung* 35. Vian does not adopt Platt's deletion; cf. *REA* 75 (1973) 98–9 and Matteo on 381a–b. The surviving traces are reconcilable with the following reconstruction:

1016   η[ι ενι Μοϲϲυνοικοι αν ουρεα ναιεταουϲι]
1017a   [. . .] . . [
1017b   α̣ . [
1018   αλ[λοιη δε δικη και θεϲμια τοιϲι τετυκται]

1016 η[, the right-hand tip of a high horizontal, compatible with the occasionally extended bar of η (cf. e.g. the first η at 771); the following trace is either the foot of the descender of ρ in the previous line or part of ι   1017a] . . [, two uprights, the first descending slightly lower than the second   1017b α̣ . [, first, part of the lower loop and tail of α; second, a junction of ascending and descending obliques at around mid-height, like μ   1018 λ[, a high trace on the edge like the upper tip of a descending oblique

Neither 1017a nor 1017b is compatible with the beginning of 1017 = 381b (μόϲϲυναϲ) in the medieval manuscripts. It seems, then, that the papyrus confirms Platt's deletion of 1017 and reveals that two lines originally stood in its place.

Fr. 31

1058 τ̣ω κα[ι. Despite appearances, not τωι κα[ι: the scribe initially wrote a malformed kappa, and then he or another hand added a second upright to clarify the letter-shape.

1060 ε̣νθε[μενοι with E *Σ*ᴬ: ἀνθέμενοι *Ω* *Σ*ᴸ. The initial epsilon, while imperfectly preserved, is virtually certain: the two extant traces correspond to the tip of the cap and the middle stroke. A similar construction occurs at 3.1320 ὁ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ αὖτιϲ ἑλὼν ϲάκοϲ ἔνθετο νώτῳ (where ἔνθετο was changed to ἄνθετο in the Florentine *editio princeps*).

Fr. 32

1116 An extra verse, νῆϲόν τ᾽ ἤπειρόν τε περαίηϲ ἀγχόθι νήϲου, is given after this verse by *w* and L². It will originally have stood for 1116–17; see Haslam 63–4.

1117 αμφ᾽ενεμ[οντο] (read ἀμφενέμοντο). For the use of the apostrophe to separate the elements of a compound word, see *GMAW*² p. 11 with n. 49.

A. BENAISSA

5418. Aᴘᴏʟʟᴏɴɪᴜs Rʜᴏᴅɪᴜs, *Aʀɢᴏɴᴀᴜᴛɪᴄᴀ* 2.1099–1105

9 1B.184/F(c)   (*a*) 1.1 × 1.7 cm, (*b*) 3.1 × 4 cm   Second century

Two fragments give parts falling at or near the right-hand side of a column. The column width will have been approximately 15 cm; a line and the interlinear space below it occupy an area about 0.6 cm tall. The writing runs along the fibres, and the back is blank.

The text is written in a slipshod and irregular attempt at a formal round hand: note for example lopsided ν with the second upright taller than the first, or ϲ falling forward. There is

some decoration in the form of left-pointing finals at the tops and feet of strokes, and some attempt is made to produce a contrast between thick and thin strokes, notably in v with its thick uprights and thin oblique. The basic type is the Roman Uncial of the Hawara Homer (*GMAW*² 13) and e.g. LXXXIII **5349** (hexameters); for letter forms such as the v-shaped v and $α$ looped at the left, cf. e.g. LXXVI **5090** (Plato). The only lection sign is a middle stop at the end of 1101, perhaps due to the main hand. The scribe includes an optional nu at line-end before a line beginning with a consonant in 1100 but not in 1101.

There is a new reading at 1100. No Apollonius papyri overlap this piece, but the commentary $Π$¹⁸ (P. Berol. 13413, *CLGP* I.1.3 pp. 29–35), assigned to the first/second century, includes 1099 as a lemma (ii 2–4).

<div align="center">

(*a*)   (*b*)

.   .   .   .   .

] $Aρκ$[τουροιο]   [

1100   ουρε]cι φ[υλλ ετιν]αξεν   [

αη]ϛυρ[οc ακρε]μονεϲϲι ·[

ωρϲ]ε δε κυμα [

].[].   [

ιδεϲθα]ι [

1105   ηρηρειϲτ]ο [

.   .   .   .   .

</div>

1100–1102 There is surplus ink between the lines, perhaps offset.

1100 ετιν]αξεν: ἐτίναϲϲε $Ω$. The durative force of the imperfect suits the context, and the new reading may be due to assimilation to the preceding aorist (1098, cf. 1102). For the substitution of the aorist in the tradition, cf. e.g. 1.990 where LXIV **4414** rightly gives φράϲϲον in place of φράξαν.

1103].[]. First, above letter-top level, a short upright, broken below; second, at letter-top level, a short high crossbar or the upper arc of a circle. If the line had its familiar form, αχλυ]ϲ may have been written here. In that case, the first trace will not belong to the text. It may be offset: cf. 1100–1102 n.

Remaining: one unplaced scrap with negligible traces.

<div align="right">E. NABNEY</div>

5419. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.115–27, 157–62, 165–9, 223–7

60/24   fr. 1(*b*) 2.6 × 11.5 cm   First century BC/first century AD
                                                                                                    Plate 000

Four fragments of a roll, with text written along the fibres. The lower margin is preserved on fr. 1 to a depth of 4.4 cm and on fr. 4 to a depth of 1 cm. The back is blank.

The hand is a neat, medium-sized example of the 'epsilon-theta' style that flourished in Egypt and elsewhere between the late Ptolemaic period and the early first century AD; see G. Cavallo, *CE* 4 (1974) 33–6 = *Il calamo e il papiro* (2005) 123–8; G. Menci, *S&C* 3 (1979) 36–8; L. Del Corso, *AnPap* 18–20 (2006–8) 245–7. For an objectively dated parallel, cf. P. Lond. II 354 = Roberts, *GLH* 9*a* (a petition written between 7 and 4 BC). There is no sharp contrast between narrow and wide letters: only μ and ω are slightly broader than the other letters. The crossbars of ϵ and θ are detached and reduced to a curved dash, which may be serifed (160). Shading is virtually absent, but the reduced bar in ϵ and θ is thinner than the other horizontal strokes. ϲ and τ may touch the following letter. Hooks and serifs are common but not too obtrusive. Many verticals are thickened at the ends.

Lection signs include high stops and a smooth breathing in Turner's form 1 (158 n.). These may be due to the hand, probably not much later than the first, which added a variant between dots above the line (125) and numerous marginal annotations. Iota adscript is written by the first hand (119). The scribe's practice in respect of elision is not determinable. Movable nu is not written at the end of 126.

The preservation of two column feet and a sequence of line-ends falling between them makes it possible to determine the original column dimensions with a high degree of probability. WBH notes that each column will have held about 25 lines, with fr. 1 at the foot of col. v, fr. 2 standing above fr. 3 in col. vii, and fr. 4 at the foot of col. ix. Ten lines and the space under the tenth occupy an area 6.2 cm high. The column height will therefore have been 15.5 cm, while the line-length was about 18 cm: for such oblong columns, see Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 208. The book will have taken up 57 columns.

5420 overlaps this papyrus at 122–7 and 157–60; Π^{20} (MP³ 105), from a parchment codex of the seventh (?) century, includes parts of 157–61, but not those preserved here.

There are uncertain new readings at 165 and 224, and a marginal note at 123 may imply that the main text had an otherwise unknown but possible variant at 123; cf. also 127 *mg*. The variant partially preserved above the line at 125 seems unlikely to have been an improvement, and the omission of 121 is clearly erroneous.

Fr. 1   Fr. 2

      (*a*)   (*b*)   (*b*)   (*a*)

     .   .   .   .

115   ] ποτε Ζε[υc   ει]λετ[ο

           α]θανατοιcι[   ].η̄̇ .̇[

          ] δε τω γε   Ουλυμπο]ιο

      εψιοω]ν̣[το]   160   κελε]νθοc

        μ]αζωι ..[   ]

120   αγο]c̣τον   α]ε̣ρθ[ει]c̣ [

122   οκλαδ]ον ηcτο[.   .   .

        αυτ]ωc αλλοετα[

   καγχαλοω]ν̣τι αλλω[

125   .α̣.̇

        ο]λ̣ε̣ccαc   .[

        ενοηc]ε̣

         παιδ]οc· ειc[

                  εντιc[

                  ιχε.̣[

Fr. 3   Fr. 4

      .   .   .   .   .   .

165   ]...[αναβ]λυε̣c[κε

        ιο]ντι ·[   ]εανα̣[

        ]   225   μ̣ε]ν ποθι̣ [

     ηγορο]ωντο   ] αμοιβη[διc

      υπακ]ουον̣   κ]οιληc αν[εκηκιε

      .   .   .

Fr. 1

     117 τω γε with Ω: τώδε A.

     119 μ]αζωι. A steeply ascending oblique to the left of the centre of ω is presumably casual. What appears to be the continuation of the same stroke after a short gap is visible on the right-hand side of *o* in the next line; then the stroke turns off sharply to the right before terminating at the level of the top of η in 122.

     mg. ..[. Traces on the edge suggesting the tops of two triangular letters, e.g. ἄ]λλ[ωc (introducing a variant?).

     120 αγο]c̣τον with E (adopted by Vian; see his note): -τῷ Ω. For the surplus ink on *o*, see 119 n.

     121 was not present at least in the main body of the text. The omission was no doubt accidental: perhaps, as WBH suggests, 121–2 had dropped out at an earlier stage by homoeoteleuton (CTOν, CTO) and the lacuna was filled either by 122 alone or by a line with a similar ending. Cf. Haslam 63–4.

     122 ηcτο. For the surplus ink over η, see 119 n.

123 *mg.* Near 123–4, the second hand added αλλο ετ α[υτωϲ] | αλλω[ι. The other copies have in the text ἄλλον ἔτ᾿ αὔτωϲ | ἄλλῳ (Ω: ἄλλον **5420** L²ˢˡ E) ἐπιπροϊείϲ. The marginal note may be meant to give the text of Ω, with αλλο for αλλον. In that case, the main text may have had αλλωι in 123 and αλλον in 124, the latter reading being that of **5420** L²ˢˡ E, while the former has left no trace in the tradition; **5420** is unavailable at the end of 123. It is not clear whether ἄλλῳ … ἄλλον or ἄλλον … ἄλλῳ is to be preferred.

125 ο]λεϲϲαϲ: of λ, only the tip of the right-hand stroke. The variant indicated above the line may have been e.g. ἐλάϲϲαϲ, but this does not give suitable sense.

mg. ̣[: a faint speck.

127 *mg.* 1 ειϲ[. 'Perhaps εἴϲ[ατο, lemma or variant for ἵϲτατο (**5420** Ω)' (WBH).

mg. 2 E.g. ἔν τιϲ[ι (sc. ἀντιγράφοιϲ) φέρεται … WBH compares the note on 269 in the lower margin of VI **874** (*Π²¹*), *CGLP* I.1.3 pp. 36–7.

mg. 3 ικε ̣[. The last trace, a short upright with a gently descending oblique projecting to the left at the top, may be the left-hand side of λ, ν, or τ. One possibility is a form of ἱκέτηϲ or ἱκετεύω (Aphrodite touches her son's jaw like a suppliant: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1.666 (Venus to Cupid) *ad te confugio et supplex tua nomina posco*). WBH suggests that ἵκετ[ο (for ἵϲτατο) is the variant introduced in *mg.* 2.

Fr. 2

158]̣ ̣η̇ ̣ ·[: first, a high speck, apparently from a curved letter; after η, a hole, then two traces on the edge, one above the other, and finally a high trace. ἀλ]ωήν· [would fit, but what appears to be a smooth breathing placed by the second hand over η is hard to explain. It is just conceivable that it was meant for the initial α: for evidence of the view that ἁλωή with a rough breathing had a different sense, see Erbse at *Σ Il.* 21.346. Or the scribe may have absent-mindedly given the word a second breathing in place of its accent.

162 α]ερθ[ει]ϲ [.]ερθ[is on fr. 2(*b*), placed by WBH; the fibres can be followed across. The blank space above is part of that at the end of 161. Below ϲ, there is a tiny speck of ink, probably accidental.

Fr. 3

165]̣ ̣ ̣[: the lower part of an upright on the edge; the base of a circle; a trace on the line, perhaps the foot of an upright. We expect ἄλλοτε δ᾿ αὖτε at the end of the line. The supplement αυ]τε ̣ would leave the final trace unexplained. 'Perhaps the papyrus had α]ὖθι [in place of αὖτε: cf. the variants in the previous line (ἄλλοτε E: -οθι Ω) and 1147 (αὖτε Ω: αὖθι S). Campbell (165 n.) remarks that ἄλλοθι in 164 is "from the preceding νειόθι", and αὖθι may itself be due to the influence of ἄλλοθι there, if it was the reading of the papyrus, or to that of νειόθι before it. ἄλλοτε δ᾿ αὖτε is found at 4.180 and 1197 and often in Homer and elsewhere, as Campbell notes' (WBH).

166 *mg.* ·[: a speck of ink, perhaps a high stop.

Fr. 4

224]εανα̣[. The medieval manuscripts have θυώδεϊ νᾶεν ἀλοιφῇ at line-end. Two reconstructions are theoretically possible, θυωδ]εα να̣[εν αλοιφην] and θυωδει ν]εαν α̣[λοιφηι]. The former is proposed by WBH, who argues that the space and alignment point to it: 'For the construction, cf. ὕδωρ προρέεϲκε in the next line, with Campbell's defence. The corruption was caused by the two preceding datives with ἀναβλύεϲκε; with the new reading, we have two accusatives to balance them. Contrast ὕδατι ναῖε at 1.1146; E there has the conjecture νᾶε, but see Campbell on this passage.' In the other reconstruction, with the unmetrical νεαν for νᾶεν, the error may be due to a scribe better acquainted with the other form than with this unusual third person singular (a Hellenistic innovation: A. R. 1.1146, Call. *Dian.* 224).

225 ποθι̣ [with Ω (accepted by Vian, defended by Campbell): ποτι- E.

<div align="right">G. UCCIARDELLO</div>

5420. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.122–35, 149–62

103/71(a)   7.6 × 6.1 cm   Third century

The upper part of a leaf of a parchment codex. The brighter and smoother surface of the recto suggests that it is the flesh side. Much of the verso is hard to read due to surface damage and incrustation.

13 lines are missing between the last verse on the recto and the first on the verso: a page will have held 27 lines. As the 'leading' or space from one base-line to the next measures on average 0.3 cm, the height of the written area will have been 8.1 cm. The completely preserved short line 130 is 6.5 cm long. The upper margin is 1.9 cm deep at its greatest extent and the inner margin on the recto 0.8 cm wide; the scribe leaves virtually no inner margin on the verso. The manuscript belongs to Turner's category of 'miniature' parchment codices less than 10 cm wide; see Turner, *Typology* 29–30 (Group XIV), 32. The whole poem of *c.* 5800 lines would have taken up 215 such pages.

The writing is in a small early Biblical Uncial, with letters measuring about 1.5 mm in height and broad letters like μ and π on average slightly less than 2 mm in width. For an objectively datable parallel, cf. LXII **4327** (Demosthenes), of which the back was reused for a document written in a third- or early fourth-century cursive (see LXXXIII **5346** introd.). Other comparable hands are listed in LII **3663** introd. Bilinearity is breached by the descenders of ρ and υ below and by ϕ both above and below (there are no preserved examples of ψ). The middle of μ does not touch the base line and is occasionally curved (e.g. 128 $\mu\iota\nu$). The crossbar of π sometimes projects slightly beyond the uprights. ϕ has an oval loop. There is evidence of dry ruling, e.g. at the base of 123.

Lectional signs include organic diaereses, apostrophes, accents (including a grave at 132), and a stop (154). The scribe effects elision, not always marking it with an apostrophe, and writes iota adscript. A second hand is responsible for at least one supralinear addition at 122, less certainly for those at 123 and 129.

The fragment has an inferior new reading at 123 ($\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\pi\iota\acute{o}\omega\nu$), and shows that $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{a}\rho o\iota o$ at 158 was an ancient corruption. The probable interchange of $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda o\nu$ with $\ddot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ in 123–4 is apparently shared with **5419**. The beginning of 122 is damaged, but the corrected text seems unlikely to have been an improvement on the usual reading.

The text of lines 122–7 and 157–60 overlaps **5419** and that of lines 149–61 overlaps Π^{20} (MP³ 105), an Egyptian codex originally assigned to the late eighth or early ninth century but more likely of the seventh century (cf. Turner, *Typology* 102 no. 5).

Recto

    (*m. 2*) εμβα
. . . . ι . . θαλλεν ερευθ[οϲ
    (*m. 2?*) η
ϲιγα κατῶπιοων δοιω δ εχ[εν
αλλον επιπροϊειϲ κ[εχολωτο

125   και μην τουϲ γε παραϲϲον ε[πι
βη κενεαιϲ ϲυν χερϲιν αμ[ηχανοϲ
Κυπριν επιπλομενην η [δ αντι]η ϊϲτα[τ]ο π[αιδοϲ]
και μιν αφαρ γναθμοιο κατ[αϲχομε]νη προϲε[ειπε]
τιπτ επιμειδιᾷ [α]φατον κακ[ον η]ε μιν αυτ[ωϲ]

130   ηπαφεϲ ουδε δικη[ι π]εριεπλεο νηιν εοντα
[ει δ] αγε μοι προφρ[ω]ν τελεϲον χρεοϲ οτ'τι κεν [
και κεν τ[ο]ι οπαϲαιμι Διὸϲ περικαλλεϲ αθ[υρμα]
κει[νο το ο]ι ποιηϲε φιλη τροφοϲ [
αν[τ]ρω[ι ε]ν Ιδαιωι ετι νηπι[α

135   [ϲφαιραν] εϋτρόχα[λο]ν τη[ϲ

     .   .   .   .

Verso

            μ]υ[θο]ιϲιν επειρυϲαϲα παρεια[ϲ]
150   ] αμειβετο μειδιο[ωϲα]
        φι]λον κ[α]ρη ηδ' εμον αυτηϲ
      δωρο]ν γε παρεξομαι ουδ' απατηϲω
     ενιϲκιμ]ψηιϲ κουρηι βελοϲ Αιητ[α]ο
[φ]η· ο δ αρ [αϲτραγαλ]ουϲ ϲυναμήϲατο καδ δε φαει[νωι]

155   [μ]ητροϲ ε[ηϲ] ευ π[α]νταϲ αριθμη[ϲ]αϲ βαλε κολπωι
[αυ]τικα δ' ιο[δ]οκην χρυ[ϲεηι π]ερικατθετο μιτρ[ηι]
[πρ]εμνωι κεκλιμ[ενην ανα] δ' αγκύλον ειλε[το
[βη] δε διεκ μεγαρο[ιο Διοϲ παγ]καρπον αλωην
[αυταρ] επειτα πυλ[αϲ εξ]ηλυθεν Ουλυμποιο

160   [αιθ]εριαϲ ενθεν δε καταιβατιϲ εϲτι κ[ελευθοϲ]
            ] . . . . . . ανεχουϲι κ[αρηνα]
             ] . . . [

    .   .   .   .

Recto

122   . . . ι . . : χροιῇ *Ω*: χροιῆϲ E (a medieval conjecture adopted by Fränkel and Vian). For the appropriateness of genitive χροιῆϲ with ἔρευθοϲ, see Campbell ad loc. The damaged traces here are difficult to distinguish: after ι, apparently η, though the curved middle also suggests μ, then a round letter. χροιηϲ may be just acceptable.

    It is not clear how the supralinear addition is to be interpreted: χροιῆϲ ἔμβαλ' ἔρευθοϲ would scan, but its subject would be left unspecified (Aphrodite?), and one would have expected the corrector to cancel λεν on the line.

    123 κατωπιοων: a new reading. *Ω* has κατηφιόων. The supralinear addition of η above the first ω seems like an attempt to retore the latter reading, but π was not corrected to φ as might be expected. A verb κατηπιάω is attested once in *Il.* 5.417 ὀδύναι δὲ κατηπιόωντο βαρεῖαι, but it means 'assuage, allay' (LSJ), an impossible sense here. The verb κατηφιάω, 'to be dejected, downcast', is attested for the first time in A. R. 1.461 κατηφιόωντι (κατηφείοντι *Π*[5] = XXXIV **2695**, late II) ἐοικώϲ and here; 'all the other verse examples are much later' (Campbell). In view of its rarity and the common derivation of κατηφείη in antiquity ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω ἔχειν τὰ φάη (e.g. *Σ* D *Il.* 17.556), κατωπιόων is probably an intrusive gloss. The verb is originally prosaic (first in Arist. *HA* 604b11); cf. esp. Apollon. *Lex.* p. 96.20 Bekker s.v. κατηφείη· … καὶ ἔϲτι κατὰ τὸ ἔτυμον <u>κατωπίη</u>, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω τοὺϲ ὦπαϲ ἔχειν τοὺϲ ἐπί τιϲιν αἰϲχροῖϲ κατηφεῖϲ γινομένουϲ, and see Erbse on *Σ Il.* 17.556a. The form κατωπιόων is otherwise found only at Q. S. 3.133 ἀπάνευθε θεῶν ἄλληκτον ἐόντων | ἧϲτο κατωπιόων (of Zeus), which clearly echoes the present passage and probably implies that Quintus in the third century had read κατωπιόων in his copy of the *Argonautica*, and Nonn. *P.* 19.42, 20.13.

    124 αλλον with L[2sl] E: ἄλλῳ *Ω*. All the other manuscripts have the accusative ἄλλον at 123, but ἄλλωι may have stood there in this copy: ἄλλῳ undergoes correption in the same position at 2.57. On the basis of a marginal note, the editor of **5419** suspects that it also had αλλωι … | αλλον in the text.

    129 επιμειδια`α´ϲ with *Ω Σ*[Ω]: -άειϲ (ειϲ in ras.) E[2]. It is unclear whether the interlinear alpha is in the hand of the main scribe or that of the corrector.

    131 οτ'τι. For the apostrophe between two consonants, see *GMAW*[2] p. 11 with n. 50.

Verso

    149 επειρυϲαϲα with *Ω*: ἐπειρύϲϲαϲα Brunck (on the quantity of the upsilon, cf. Gow on Theoc. 14.35 and Campbell): ἐπειρείϲαϲα J[2] B[γρ] *Σ[J].

    151 κ[α]ρη with L *w* E: κάρα A G[2sl].

    εμον with *Ω*: ἐμοῦ E.

    154 ἄρ' omitted by E.

    156 π]εριϲατθετο with *Ω*: -κάτθεο G: -κατέθετο E. The verb was unnecessarily suspected by Fränkel in his apparatus; see Campbell ad loc.

    158 διεκ with the majority of the manuscripts (διὲκ *Π*[20] after correction, Z: δι' ἐκ *Ω Σ*[J]): διοϲ *Π*[20] before correction. See next note.

    μεγαρο[ιο Διοϲ restored with *Ω Σ*[J] (μεγάροιο) and *Ω* (Διὸϲ): μεγαλοιο θ[(θ[εοῦ Wifstrand) *Π*[20]. μεγάλοιο had been conjectured by Gerhard. Most editors and modern scholars have adopted the reading μεγάλοιο Διόϲ; see Campbell with further bibliography. **5420** shows that μεγάροιο is an ancient variant and the corruption must be reckoned quite old.

    160 [αιθ]εριαϲ with *Ω*: αἰθερινάϲ E.

    161] . . . . . . ανεχουϲι κ[αρηνα]. All other manuscripts read δοιὼ δὲ πόλοι ἀνέχουϲι κάρηνα | οὐρέων ἠλιβάτων. Platt (followed by Vian) emended πόλοι to πόλον, Fränkel to πόλονδ'. Campbell on

3.159–63 discusses the problem. The reading of what precedes the verb here is rendered hopeless by the poor condition of the surface.

A. BENAISSA

5421. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.250–58, 275–6;
4.399–404, 428–30, 463–74, 477–80, 511–23, 555–63, 590–92, 596–9, 641–3, 647, 657–61,
700–706, 720–26, 850–65, 878–81, 897–9, 964–6, 988–93, 1007–9, 1011–13, 1021–2, 1042–6,
1050–52, 1089–91, 1162–70, 1175–80, 1187–97, 1264–73, 1304–12, 1536–7, 1541–4
(Incorporating XXXIV **2701**)

88/335	Fr. 26 8.7 × 10.9 cm	Second century

+ 3 1B.77/A(1–3) (frr. 40, 41 = **2701**)
+ 23 3B.11/D(4–6)a (frr. 39, 43, 44)
+ 22 3B.14/D(2–5)a (fr. 42)

Over fifty fragments, mostly scraps, from Books 3 and 4 of the *Argonautica*. They are written in the hand of XXXIV **2701** (Π^{33}), two fragments containing 4.1175–80 and 1187–97 and republished below (frr. 40–41). As Book 4 is long and the fragments of Book 3 come from the first third of the book, the fragments must have belonged to two separate rolls written by the same scribe. These probably formed part of a complete set of four rolls, one for each book; for a similar case, see XXXIV **2694** (ii; Π^{16}). The writing runs along the fibres, and the back is blank.

The fragments of Book 4 preserve upper and lower margins of 2.4 cm and 1.9 cm respectively. The intercolumnium measured at least 2.6 cm (fr. 41). The largest piece, frr. 26–7, gives remains of 16 lines without upper or lower margin. As Johnson, *Bookrolls and Scribes* 279, noted, it is clear from the vertical fibres on the back that the two fragments of **2701** belong to a single column. The minimum column height is thus 23 lines (4.1175–97). There will have been 81 lines between the column-top at 4.647 (fr. 22) and the column-foot at 4.726 (fr. 25), supposing the papyrus had a complete text where the medieval manuscripts are assumed to have lost a whole line after the first word of line 657. If this stretch of text occupied three columns, a column will have held on average 27 lines, and the column height will have been *c.* 21 cm (see also below on fr. 47). Dots are placed in the margin to the left of 4.859, 1177, 1194, and 1304; they may have served as ruling marks (cf. Johnson 91–9).

The text is copied in a medium-sized, upright, round informal hand. The editor of **2701** assigns it to the 'later third century' and adds that 'even the fourth century is not excluded'; but the parallels adduced are not very close, and I should think the hand belongs more comfortably in the second century. Compare the hand of the 'London Hyperides', P. Lond. Lit. 132 (Roberts, *GLH* 13*b*), assigned to the first half of the second century on the basis of its cursive subscription and its similarity to P. Phil. 1 (Roberts, *GLH* 13*a*, a document from 120–24), and the similar though slightly more cursive hand of L **3559** (Pl. XIV), a list of councillors dated to

150. The scribe does not make an effort to maintain strict bilinearity. Letters are often ligatured (e.g. 4.520 οκ), and vertical strokes frequently end in half-serifs or hooks. Initial letters of verses are considerably enlarged and often ornate.

The text is well equipped with lectional signs: acute and circumflex accents, one rough breathing in Turner's form 2 (4.722) and another applied to a supralinear correction (4.1270), apostrophes, middle and high stops, diaereses. Many, with the exception of the diaereses, were added later, probably by a second hand, to judge by their placement relative to letters and the colour of the ink. The lectional signs of Book 3 are not written with the same ink as those of Book 4: in the former, the ink is much darker than that of the main text, while in the latter, it often has a lighter, brownish colour. Probably the same person used different ink in Book 4, perhaps after a lapse of time. Elision is always executed and marked where it is possible to check, except at 4.726 κατουδ[εος (4.989 is unclear). The original scribe does not usually write iota adscript, but it is frequently added by the second hand, often squeezed in between letters and always in a different ink; it is not added internally at 4.862 [δ]ειξης. The iota adscript at 4.1168 and those wrongly included at 4.724 (ạεικελιη⟦ι⟧) and 862 (μή]⟦ι⟧) are apparently due to the first hand. Movable ν is omitted once in mid-line (4.1266) but is otherwise regularly written both in mid-line and at line-end (deleted at 4.1022). The scribe uses itacistic spellings in a few places: 3.253, 4.560, 1043(?), 1179.

A second hand, probably the same as was responsible for many of the lectional signs, made a number of corrections. Wrong letters are usually deleted by an oblique stroke, and where appropriate, corrections are inserted above the line. Itacisms are corrected at 3.253 and 4.560; irrational iota is deleted at 4.724 and 862; a word is deleted and its replacement written above it at 4.726; genitive plural is corrected to dative singular at 4.851 (note the double deletion stroke, also found at 4.864); a supralinear addition produces a new variant at 4.852; final ν is deleted at 4.1022; various careless errors are corrected at 4.402, 864, 965, 1046, 1051, 1268, 1270, 1271, and 1306. The hand of the corrector is a specimen of the Severe Style (note angular α at 4.1051, narrow ε with protruding central stroke at 4.726 and 1271, φ with compressed loop at 4.965), which comes into prominence a few decades after the probable date of this papyrus. This suggests that the corrector was not the *diorthotes* who usually checked newly written manuscripts. As he added new variants at 4.726 and 852, it seems likely that he collated the present papyrus with another copy of the text.

5421 offers several valuable readings. At 4.464, where editors and scholars have failed to reach consensus on how to emend the faulty ἐπᾶλτο, Hölzlin's conjecture ἐξᾶλτο is confirmed. In two other places where the readings of the medieval manuscripts are difficult to accept, the text of **5421** as corrected by the second hand matches Fränkel's conjectures (4.726 ἐπ', 852 cτῇ). Chrestien's universally adopted restoration of the word ποδῶν in the defective verse 3.254 is validated, while Facius' conjecture ἀμφαδόν at 4.854 and Fränkel's transposition of 1182–1200 to follow 1169 do not find support. The fragments provide five other viable new readings, most of them in previously unsuspected passages: κατ' at 4.726 (deleted by the second hand and replaced by ἐπ'); ἀνηλεγέως for ἀπηλεγέως at 4.864; probably ἐλ[λίccετο at 4.1012, a reading not necessarily preferable to μειλίccετο; μάλα for ἄλα at 4.1265; and a defensible omission of ἐκ

at 4.1269. The new readings at 4.470 and 1270 are uncertain. ϵι ̣ [at 4.1043 probably represents an itacistic spelling of the familiar reading ἱκέϲιην rather than a new variant.

Two previously published papyri and two others edited in this volume overlap the portions of lines preserved by **5421**: *Π*¹⁶ (ɪɪ) at 4.429–30, *Π*³² (ɪɪɪ) at 4.724–6, **5427** at 4.878–81, and **5429** at 4.1304–10.

Some small fragments only tentatively identified and others too exiguous for certain placement are presented separately at the end.

Book 3
Fr. 1   Fr. 2

.　.　.　.　.　.　.   .　.

250　　　　　　　] ̣. ̣.[　　　　　　　　　　　275　　] τοφ[ρα

　　　　　　] δϵ παν[ημϵροϲ　　　　　　　　　　] τϵτρ[ηχωϲ

　　　　　α]υτη πϵλϵ[ν　　　　　　　　　　　　　　.　.

　　　　　α]ϲϲον αν⟦ϵ⟧ι ̣[αχϵν

　　　　　] ̣αι ̣ δϵ ποδων [

255　　　κ]λ ̣ωϲτηρα ̣ϲ αολ[λϵϵϲ

　　　　α]μα τῆιϲιν ϵουϲ ̣ [

　　　　χ]ϵιραϲ ανϵϲχϵ[θϵν

　　　δϵξιοων]το κ[α]ι ̣ αμφ[αγαπαζον

.　.　.　.　.　.　.

Book 4
Fr. 3   Fr. 4

.　.　.　.　.   .　.　.

　　　　　　] ̣.[　　　　　　　　　　　　　　αφ]αϲϲων ̣ [

400　　υπο]τροπο ̣[ν　　　　　　　　　　　　ϵ]μπληϲ[ϵιαϲ]

　　　ο]λοιμ[ϵθα　　　　　　　430　　　κϵι]νο ̣υ

　　　] ο ̑οι⟦ϲ⟧ κ[αι　　　　　　　　　　　　.　.　.

　θανοντϵ]ϲ ϵλωρ ̣ [

　　κρα]νϵ ́ϵι δολ ̣[ον

.　.　.　.　.

Frr. 5–10   Fr. 11

     .   .   .   .

        ] ̣.̣.[   ] ̣ταμν[ε

     πυ]κ̣ινου εξαλτ̣[ο   ε]ξ άγος ε[πτυς

465   ] παλαμηι ξιφο̣[ς αιψα δε κου]ρη   δολοκτα]ςίας ϊλα̣[εςθαι]

       καλυ]ψ̣α̣με[νη οθονηιςι]ν   480   ] ̣.[

      κ̣]α̣ςιγνη̣τ̣[οιο τυπεντο]ς̣   .   .   .   .   .

      τ]ε μεγα[ν κερ]α̣ελκεα ταυρ̣[ον]

      νηο]υ ςχεδο[ν ον] πο̣τ̣ εδειμα̣ν̣ [

470   ]ες αντιπερηθεν [

       ηρι]π̣ε· λοιςθια δ’ [

         αμφοτε]ρ̣[ηιςιν]

        καλ]υπτρ̣[ην]

       ερ]υθην[εν]

     .   .   .   .

Frr. 12–15

     .   .   .   .   .   .

       γα]ι̣ης

      Αιητα]ο ·

         εναςθ]ε̣ν ·

         ]

515   ]

      ποταμοι]ο̣

        εδε]ιμαν

       ορεςς]ιν

    Κεραυ]νι̣α κ̣[ικληςκονται]

520   Κρονι]δα̣ο κερ̣[αυνοι]

    απ]ετραπο[ν ορμηθ]ηναι ·

   εειςα]τ̣ο νο[ςτος απημ]ω̣ν.

      ] χ̣θ̣ο̣[νι πειςματ εδη]ς̣αν [

     .   .   .   .   .   .

Frr. 16–17　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Fr. 18

.　　.　　.　　.　　.　　.　　　　　　　　　.　　.　　.　　.

555　　　　　　　　　　] ἀναγκη [　　590　　 εντοϲθ]ε πο[ρειν

αυρ]αι ·　　　　　　　　　] και Ḥ[ελιοιο

Αψυρτο]ι̣[ο]　　　　　　υ]πο κ[νεφαϲ

] βαϲ̣ι̣λ̣[ηα　　　　　　.　　.　　.　　.

] δ ολο̣ον τε[κμηρατο

560　　[αιμ απ]ον⟦ε⟧ιψαμενουϲ π[ρο

[νοϲτη]ϲειν το μεν ου τι̣[ϲ

γαι]η̣ϲ [Ϋλλ]ηϊδ̣[οϲ

] οϲ[αι

.　　.　　.　　.　　.　　.

Fr. 19　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Frr. 20–21

.　　.　　.　　.　　　　　　　　　　.　　.　　.　　.　　.　　.

596　　　ε]ϲ δ [ε]β[αλον　　　641　　ουραν[οθεν προθορ]ουϲα̣ φ[οβωι

] αιθαλο[εντι　　　　　παν[τεϲ ομωϲ δειν]ον γαρ ε[πι

Φ]α̣έθ[ων　　　　　　αψ [δε παλιντροποων]τ̣[ο

] π̣ρ[οχοαϲ　　　　　　.　　.　　.　　.　　.

.　　.　　.

Fr. 22

647　　περοωντε]ϲ αδήϊοι α̣[μφι

.　　.　　.　　.　　.

Fr. 23　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Fr. 24

.　　.　　.　　.　　　　　　　　　　.　　.　　.　　.

]...[　　　　700　　　　　Ι]κεϲι̣[οιο

πεφ]ατιϲτ[αι　　　　ανδροφονο]ιϲιν αρη[γει

νε]ο̣ντ[ο　　　　　　απολυμαινο]νται

660　　εϲϲορο]ω̣ν̣τ̣[εϲ　　　　　　　　]

αρ]α̣ νηοϲ ·[　　　　　　φο]νοιο

.　　.　　.　　.　　705　　　　] ετι μαζοι̣ [

χειρ]α̣ϲ [

.　　.　　.　　.

Fr. 25

 . . . .

720   ι]ζεν [

  ναυτιλιη]ν τε διακριδο[ν

     ] γαιαν ἑην και δω[ματ

  ιδρ]υθηϲαν εφεϲτιοι· ἦ γαρ ο[νειρων]

   ] ἀεικελιη⟦ι⟧ δυνεν [

725   κ]ουρηϲ εμφυλιον [

  οπ]ωϲ ενοηϲε ⟦κατ⟧ᵉᵖ ουδ[εοϲ

Frr. 26–7

 . . . .

850   Τυ]ρϲηνιδ[οϲ

    πα]ρα νηϊ ϲολω⟦ν⟧ᶦ [

  [τερπομενο]υϲ·ᶜᵗ ἦ δ’ αϲϲον ορεξ[αμενη

  [Αιακιδεω Π]ηληοϲ· ο γαρ ρα ο[ι

  [ουδε τ]ι[ϲ] ειϲ[ϊ]δεειν δυνατ’ εμ[πεδον

855 [οιωι ε]ν οφθαλμοιϲιν εειϲατο [

  [μη]κετι νυν ακταιϲ Τυρϲηνιϲ[ιν

  [η]ωθεν δε θοηϲ πρυμνηϲια [

  [Ηρ]ηι πειθομενοι επαρηγονι [

  παϲ[ϲ]υδιηι κουραι Νηρηϊδεϲ α[ντιοωϲι

860 ν[ηα] διεκ πετραϲ αι τε Πλαγκ[ται

  ρυ[ϲο]μεναι· κεινη γαρ εναιϲιοϲ ϋ[μμι

  α[λλα ϲυ μή]⟦ι⟧ τωι εμον [δ]ειξηϲ δεμ[αϲ

     ] ϲυν τῆιϲ[ι νο]ωι δ’ εχε [

    παροι]θεν ανηλε[.][

865   ε]δυ[ϲατο] βεν[θεα

 . . . .

Fr. 28

. . . .

    εϲ]ηλατο̣ [

    ι]κετ᾿ οπ[ιϲϲω]

880   ] και εμ[πηϲ]

   μετεε]ιπεν ε̣[ταιροιϲ]

. . . .

Fr. 29

897] θυγ[ατερ

    [α]μμιγ[α

    [α]λλο δε̣ [

. .

Fr. 30

    προτερ]ω̣ θεον̣ [

965   τρο]⟦φ̇π⟧ον̣ [

    αλιγκια]ι αιθ[υιηιϲι]

. . . .

Fr. 31

. .

988 κ]ε̣ινη[ι

   ] δ̣ εδ̣[αεν

. .

Fr. 32

990] φ[ιλαμενη

  ] Φαιηκω̣[ν

  ] Ουρανιο̣[ιο

  ] π̣ο̣[λεεϲϲιν

. . .

Fr. 33

1007   μετε̣]π̣[ειτα

    κ]α̣τε[ρυκεν

  Αλκιν]οοϲ̣ [

. . .

Fr. 34

. . .

1011 ουλομε]ν̣ωι υ̣[πο

   εταρο]υϲ ελ[

    α]λ̣οχ̣ο̣[υ

. . .

Fr. 35

. . .

1021 αλλοδαπ]ο̣ιϲιν [

    επειϲ]ε̣⟦ν⟧

. . .

Fr. 36

. .

  ] δ̣ε̣ι̣[ϲατε

  ] ε̣ι ̣[

  ] Α̣ιητε[ω

1045] ο̣υ̣ νη[ουϲ

  ] α̣λ̇λην̣ [

. .

Fr. 37   Fr. 38

.   .   .   .

1050 $\epsilon\mu\iota]\underset{.}{\xi}[\alpha\tau\epsilon_{\alpha}$ $]\,\delta[\upsilon\varsigma\zeta\eta\lambda o\iota$

       $]\,\dot{\delta}\epsilon\,\lambda⟦\epsilon⟧\theta[\epsilon\varsigma\theta\epsilon]$ 1090 $]\,\mu\epsilon\nu\,A[\nu\tau\iota o\pi\eta\nu$

    $\alpha\pi o\tau]\mu\eta\gamma\dot{\epsilon}[\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $]\,\delta\epsilon\,\kappa\alpha\iota\,\Delta[\alpha\nu\alpha\eta$

.   .   .   .

Fr. 39

.   .   .   .

$\mu\epsilon\gamma\alpha\rho]o\iota\varsigma\,\delta'\,[$

$]\,\upsilon\pi o\tau\rho o\dot{\pi}o[\varsigma$

$\phi\rho o\nu\epsilon\epsilon]\dot{\varsigma}\kappa\epsilon\cdot\,\tau\acute{o}\tau'\,\alpha\upsilon\,\chi\rho\epsilon\omega\,[$

1165 $\phi]\upsilon\lambda\alpha\,\delta\upsilon\eta\pi\alpha\theta\underset{.}{\epsilon}\omega[\nu$

$\epsilon\pi\epsilon\beta]\eta\mu\epsilon\nu\,\underset{.}{o}\lambda\omega\iota\,\pi o\delta\iota\,[$

$\pi\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\mu\beta\lambda\omega]\kappa\epsilon\nu\,\epsilon\ddot{\upsilon}\phi\rho o\sigma\upsilon[\nu\eta\iota\sigma\iota\nu$

$\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\rho\eta]\iota\,\pi\epsilon\rho\,\ddot{\iota}\alpha\iota\nu o\underset{.}{\epsilon}[\nu o\upsilon\varsigma$

$\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon o\iota\tau]\underset{.}{o}\,[\delta]\underset{.}{\iota}\alpha\kappa\rho\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma\,A\lambda\kappa[\iota\nu o o\iota o]$

1170 $\alpha\nu]\underset{.}{\epsilon}\rho\chi o\mu\epsilon\nu[\eta$

.   .   .   .   .   .

Fr. 40   Frr. 41–2

. . . .

1175 $K o\underset{.}{\lambda}\underset{.}{\chi}\underset{.}{o}[\iota$ $\underset{.}{\alpha}\underset{.}{\lambda}[\lambda o\iota\,\delta\,\alpha\mu\phi\iota]\underset{.}{\phi}[o]\underset{.}{\rho}\underset{.}{\eta}[\alpha\varsigma$

$\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\kappa\alpha\,\delta'\,A\lambda\kappa\iota\nu o o\varsigma\,\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon[\beta\eta\sigma\epsilon\tau o$ $\kappa\underset{.}{\iota}[\rho\nu\alpha\sigma\theta]\underset{.}{\alpha}\iota\,\theta\upsilon\epsilon\underset{.}{\omega}\nu\,\delta\,[$

$o\nu\,\nu o o\nu\,\epsilon\xi\epsilon\rho\underset{.}{\epsilon}\omega\nu\,\kappa o\underset{.}{\upsilon}[\rho\eta\varsigma$ $\alpha[\iota\,\delta\epsilon\,\pi o\lambda\upsilon]\kappa\mu\eta\tau o\upsilon\varsigma\,\epsilon\alpha[\nu o\upsilon\varsigma$

$\sigma\kappa\eta\pi\tau\rho o\nu\,\epsilon\chi[\epsilon\nu$ 1190 $\mu\epsilon\iota\lambda\iota\alpha\,\tau[\epsilon]\,\chi\rho\upsilon\sigma o\iota o\,[$

$\epsilon\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma\,\alpha\nu\alpha\,\alpha\underset{.}{\varsigma}[\tau\upsilon$ $\alpha\gamma\lambda\alpha\ddot{\iota}\eta\nu\,[o\iota]\eta\nu\,\underset{.}{\tau}[\epsilon$

1180 $\tau[\omega\iota$ $\theta\alpha\mu\beta\epsilon\upsilon[\nu$

. . . . . . $\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\alpha\,\kappa\alpha[\iota$

                                  $\upsilon\ddot{\iota}o\nu\,\ddot{\upsilon}\pi\underset{.}{\alpha}[\iota$

                         1195 $\tau\alpha\rho\phi\epsilon\alpha\,\underset{.}{\varsigma}[\iota\gamma\alpha\lambda o\epsilon\nu\tau\iota$

                               $[N\upsilon]\mu\phi\alpha\iota\,\delta'\,[$

                               $[\iota]\mu\epsilon\underset{.}{\rho}o\underset{.}{\epsilon}[\nu\theta$

                                  .   .   .   .   .

Fr. 43

. . . .

]̣ ̣ πευϲε̣[̣]̣ ̣ν· επ[ει

1265   [τηλε περι]ϲκοπεων μαλα̣ πα̣[ντοθεν

[ξαινο]μενον πολιοιϲι επ̣[ιτροχαει

[και κε]ν επιϲμυγερωϲ δι̣[α

[νηυ]ϲ ϊε̣ρη χ̣ρ̅[υ]ϲου πο̣λλον̣ [

[πλη]μυριϲ ποντοιο μ̣ε̣τ̣[αχρονιην

        [δ] ἠ̇

1270   [νυν μ]εν ⟦δη⟧ πελαγε[̣]̣ ιν[

              λει

[απλοοϲ ει]⟦ ̣ου⟧ται γαιη[ϲ] ῡπ̇[ερ

[τουνεκ ε]γω μεν̣ [πα]ϲαν [

           ]̣[

. . . .

Fr. 44

. . . .

παν̣νυχιαι ε[λεεινον

1305   και νυ κεν α̣[υτου

     ω̇

ν⟦υ⟧νυμνοι̣ [

ηρωων οι αρι̣[ϲτοι

αλλα ϲφεαϲ ελ̣[εηραν

ηρω̂ϲϲαι̣ Λιβυ[ηϲ

1310   ημο̣ϲ οτ᾿ εκφα[

αν̣τομεναι Τρ̣[ιτωνοϲ

]̣ε̣ν̣δ[ιον

. . . .

Fr. 45   Fr. 46

. . . .

1536   ε]θεν[το]   1541   δρακω]ν ϲ[κολιην

πρηϲϲοντ]οϲ α̣[ητεω]   οξυ]τ̣ατ[ον

. . . . .   ]̣ κ̣αι ε̣[νθα

                             ] πυ̣[ροϲ

                             . . . .

Fr. 1

3.250] ̣ ̣[: indeterminate traces.

254 ποδῶν. All the medieval manuscripts omit this word, producing a defective line. The papyrus confirms the restoration of Florent Chrestien (1541–96), for which see F. Vian, *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 34 (1972) 478, 482.

256 τῆιϲιν with Ω: τοῖϲιν A D. See A. Ardizzoni, *RFIC* 34 (1956) 368–70.

Fr. 3

399] ̣ ̣[: a speck on the upper edge.

402 `τ´οι⟦ϲ⟧. The corrections produce τοι, the reading of the majority of the manuscripts (που E); cf. *Il.* 1.563 τὸ δέ τοι καὶ ῥίγιον ἔϲται. It is unclear what gave rise to the confusion here. The mistake was perhaps influenced by κείνοιϲι in the following line in the scribe's exemplar. WBH suggests that the papyrus read before the correction [μιξαντεϲ δαι χειρα ϲ]οοιϲ· κ[αι ριγιον αλγοϲ], with a contrast between the ϲόοι and the dead.

Frr. 5–10

463] ̣ ̣[: the foot of an upright, then a thicker foot of another upright curving to the right. These traces could represent the feet of eta in ϲυν]η[νεον.

464 πυ]κινου with L A G D: πυκινοῖο S E. The latter reading is a Byzantine metrical emendation designed to make the line scan with the corrupt reading ἐπᾶλτο; see the next note and cf. Fränkel, *Einleitung* 70–71.

εξαλτ̣[ο: the papyrus confirms Hölzlin's emendation of ἐπᾶλτο, the reading of all the other manuscripts. The verb επαλτο, whether interpreted as ἐπᾶλτο from ἐπ-άλλομαι or as ἔπαλτο from πάλλομαι (cf. M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter* (1950) 61–4, and M. L. West, *Il.* praef. p. xx), cannot be construed with genitive λόχοιο or scan with πυκινοῦ. The papyrus' reading is unimpeachable; for parallels, cf. 2.268 (the Harpies) νεφέων ἐξάλμεναι, *Il.* 5.142 (a lion) βαθέης ἐξάλλεται αὐλῆς. Scholars have proposed various other remedies, for which see Vian's apparatus. ἐξᾶλτο had been adopted by all editors of the *Argonautica* after Brunck (who himself fails to acknowledge Hölzlin) until it was displaced by Fränkel's ἔκπαλτο (adopted by Vian). H. Erbse defended it in his review of Fränkel in *Gnomon* 35 (1963) 21.

468 κερ]αελκεα with *w*: κερεαλκέα L A: κεραλκέα E. κερεαλκής is attested in Call. *Dian.* 179, where it is explained by the scholiast as 'drawing (sc. the plough) by the horns'; in later poetry, especially Nonnus, it becomes a general adjective for 'horned'. κερεαλκής, 'mighty of horn', is otherwise known only as a variant in [Opp.] 2.103, where the manuscripts are divided between κερααλκέες and κερεαλκέες (κεραελκέες de Ballu). Recent editors of Apollonius have preferred the rarer κερεαλκέα, but as was pointed out by O. Schneider, *Callimachea* (1870) i 234, κερε- would be irregular in a compound formation. The reading of the papyrus suggests that κερεαλκέα was a later corruption.

470]εϲ: περιναιέται Ω. Unless an unsuspected corruption lurks here, perhaps the scribe wrote περιναιετεϲ in error, or the word was displaced by a gloss. The Homeric *hapax* (*Il.* 24.488) is a favourite of Apollonius (1.1149, 1222, 2.186, 4.405).

Fr. 11

477 τ̣αμν[ε with Ω *Et. Gen.*ᴬ *EM*: τέμνεν Σ Soph. *El.* 445a² Xenis, τέμνεϲ Suda μ 274.

480] ̣ ̣[: prima facie the top of an upright.

Frr. 12–15

514–15 These lines did not extend far enough to the right to be represented on fr. 13.

520 The preserved letters would have been expected to appear much further to the right in relation to the remains of the neighbouring lines. The papyrus may have omitted ἐκ τόθεν before ἐξότε at the beginning of the line through *saut du même au même* (WBH).

Fr. 16–17

561 το with Ω: τόν E.

Fr. 18

590 εντοϲθ]ε̣ with *m*: ἔμπροϲθε(ν) *w*. To judge by the following lines, *m*'s ἔντοϲθε would be a better fit for the gap on the left. For a defence, see Livrea ad loc. and Fränkel, *Noten* 504.

591 και. A horizontal line runs across this word at two-thirds height. It is unclear whether it represents a deletion.

Fr. 23

657] . . . [. Potentially compatible with κει]ν̣ω̣[ν, but as the text at the beginning of the line is uncertain (see Vian), it is unclear which letters should stand on this alignment.

661 If the high trace at the end is a stop, it is out of place.

Fr. 25

724 δυνεν with *m*: δῦνε *w* D.

726 ενοηϲε ⟦κατ⟧ `επ´ ουδ[εοϲ. All the medieval manuscripts read ἐνόηϲεν ἀπ᾽ οὔδεοϲ. Both κατ᾽, the original reading of the papyrus, and the inserted ἐπ᾽ are new, but the latter corresponds to a conjecture of Fränkel's (see his apparatus; he retracted his suggestion in *Noten* 525 n. 148, and it is not reported by Vian). In Π^{32} = P. Col. VIII 205 (III), the editor prints ε̣[νο]ηϲεν [, following which the only metrically viable variants would be απ and επ. The online image, however, shows an upright with no join at the top and possibly a further stroke touching it at the foot, suggesting that κ[is more likely: the letter is written cursively in this hand, with its upper branch starting at the foot. If κ[is correct, Π^{32} will have read ε̣[νο]ηϲε κ̣[ατ. The expression βάλλειν … ἀπό for 'taking one's eyes off the ground' is difficult and unparalleled. Fränkel, *Noten* 525, and Livrea ad loc. cite 1.535 γαίηϲ ἀπὸ πατρίδοϲ ὄμματ᾽ ἔνεικεν (of a tearful Jason leaving his homeland); cf. also *Il.* 8.645 οὐδέ ποτε Ζεύϲ | τρέψεν ἀπὸ κρατερῆϲ ὑϲμίνηϲ ὄϲϲε φαεινώ.

With either of the new readings, the sense of the passage is different. Circe notices Medea's shiny eyes not when the latter takes them *off* the ground, but rather when she casts them *on* it. Implicitly, we are to understand that the dark floor becomes bright when Medea looks at it, which leads Circe to infer that she belongs to the race of Helios. This usage of βάλλειν in connection with eyes is supported by 3.1063 ποδῶν πάροϲ ὄϲϲε βαλοῦϲα (sc. Μήδεια). Medea's downcast look would reflect her deep grief and sense of shame in coming before Circe, her aunt, to atone for Apsyrtus' murder; see 4.736–7, 749–50. ἷζεν ἐνωπαδίϲ at 720 is inconclusive: it only implies a spatial relation, not necessarily that Medea's face and eyes are fully visible to Circe.

Both ἐπί and κατά are employed in other descriptions of looking at the ground: 3.22 ἐπ᾽ οὔδεοϲ αἵ γε … ὄμματ᾽ ἔπηξαν (Hera and Athena, in deep concentration; cf. *Il.* 3.217 κατὰ χθονὸϲ ὄμματα πήξαϲ, Theoc. 2.112 ἐπὶ χθονὸϲ ὄμματα πάξαϲ), 1.784 ὁ δ᾽ ἐπὶ χθονὸϲ ὄμματ᾽ ἐρείϲαϲ (Jason, from a sense of shame), 3.1022 κατ᾽ οὔδεοϲ ὄμματ᾽ ἔρειδον (Jason and Medea, likewise from embarrassment); cf. also 2.683 ϲτὰν δὲ κάτω νεύϲαντεϲ ἐπὶ χθονόϲ (Argonauts, at the epiphany of Apollo). ἐπί and κατά are not

interchangeable in any of these passages, either on metrical grounds or because hiatus would result. With the verb βάλλω, ἐπί is perhaps preferable; cf. 3.288 βάλλεν ἐπ' Αἰςονίδην ἀμαρύγματα, 1023 ἐπὶ ϲφίϲι βάλλον ὀπωπάϲ, though the preposition there governs different cases. For other confusions of ἐπ- and ἀπ- in the manuscripts, cf. 2.920, 4.80. For other authors, WBH points to J. Diggle, *Euripidea* (1994) 290, and D. Young, *GRBS* 6 (1965) 264 (Pindar).

Note that the corrector who inserted ἐπ' failed to add a movable ν to ἐνόηϲε to obviate hiatus.

Frr. 26–7

851 ϲολω⟦ν⟧ˋιʹ: ϲόλωι is given by all the medieval manuscripts. The original genitive plural is probably due to the influence of ὀιϲτῶν at line-end; cf. below, 1266 n.

852 ˋϲτʹη. The scribe originally seems to have written η, i.e. ἥ, which is the reading of all the other manuscripts. The second hand added ϲτ above the line before η, presumably intending the verbal form ϲτῆ, which would correspond to a conjecture by Fränkel. The difficulty of the sentence as given by the medieval manuscripts is that there is no explicit main verb, so that one must assume either a corruption somewhere or a strong anacoluthon: ἥ δ' ἆϲϲον, ὀρεξαμένη χερὸϲ ἄκρηϲ, | Αἰακίδεω Πηλῆοϲ· ὁ γάρ ῥά οἱ ἦεν ἀκοίτηϲ· | οὐδέ τιϲ εἰϲιδέειν δύνατ' ἔμπεδον. *Pace* Vian, the omission of the verb with ἆϲϲον is barely tolerable. Prof. G. Hutchinson also notes that ἥ δέ should imply a change of subject, whereas here the subject is still Thetis. To remedy these difficulties, Schneider conjectured ἵε in place of ἥ (followed by Livrea), 'and she came closer…', while Fränkel suggested ϲτῆ, 'and she stood closer…'. The latter proposal has much to commend it. Besides removing the awkward anacoluthon, it echoes similar Homeric scenes of divine apparition, especially *Il.* 1.197–8 (the epiphany of Athena—sent by Hera, like Thetis here—to Achilles, Peleus' son); see further Vian ad loc., who also notes the structural and verbal echoes of *Il.* 2.18ff.; cf. also *Il.* 23.95 (Achilles to the shade of Patroclus) ἆϲϲον ϲτῆθι and A. R. 4.1313–14 (epiphany of the Libyan Herossai to the Argonauts) αἱ δὲ ϲχεδὸν Αἰϲονίδαο | ἔϲταν.

The fact that ἥ is the reading of all the medieval manuscripts suggests that the scribe inherited it from his exemplar, and if it is corrupt, the corruption must be reckoned very old. Since the same corrector also inserts a new variant at 4.726, it is likely that he had access to another copy of the text with the variant ϲτῆ.

854 εμ[πεδον with Ω: ἀμφαδόν Facius. α is impossible and ε virtually certain. See F. Vian, *REA* 75 (1973) 97 n. 1.

855 εειϲατο̣ with Ω: εἴϲατο E Σʲ.

856 Τυρϲηνιϲ[ιν with Ω: Τυρϲηνίδοϲ S.

859 παϲ[ϲ]υδιηι hesitantly restored with E: παϲυδίῃ Ω. The surviving trace is a dot at mid-height above the tail of α: it is impossible to identify the letter with certainty. In other occurrences of this word, all the primary manuscripts but G (always πανϲ-) have παϲϲ-; see Vian i p. lxxvi and Campbell on 3.195.

860 ν[ηα] with Ω: νῆυν S².

διεκ with *m* and Σʲ: δ' ἐκ *w* and D.

πετραϲ with Ω and Σʲ: πετράων S².

The papyrus preserves the true readings, for all three variants are due to a medieval corruption and a misguided attempt at emendation; see Fränkel, *Einleitung* 71, for a detailed analysis of the process.

αι τε Πλαγκ[ται καλεονται] with Ω: ἅϲ τε Πλαγκτὰϲ καλέουϲι D.

862 μή⟦ι⟧ τω̣ι. The accent over μή is perhaps intended to show that τωι is an enclitic (= τινι), not the pronoun or article τῶι.

864 ανηλε⟦ ̣ ⟧[: a new reading. The damaged letter on the line, crossed out by descending and ascending obliques on the left, may be a pi, while the trace above it is the lower part of an upright,

e.g. γ. The other manuscripts have ἀπηλεγέως, but Herodian read ἀνηλεγέως for ἀπηλεγέως at 1.785 and 2.25 (and ἀνηλεγέοντες for ἀπηλεγέοντες at 2.17). The form has usually been rejected for Apollonius: according to M. Campbell, *RPh* 47 (1973) 69, 'ἀνηλεγέως is the exclusive property of Quintus', who has it at 1.226 (L. Dindorf in Stephanus–Dindorf, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* i.2 1309a: ἀπ- transmitted), 2.414, 5.168, 7.24, 9.346, 11.252, and 13.79 (and ἀνηλεγής at 2.75). Now that it has turned up in a papyrus of Apollonius, it deserves to be taken more seriously: Quintus may have found the word in Apollonius. For other discussions, cf. e.g. Cuypers on A. R. 2.17–18. (Fr. 27 (lines 864–5) was identified by WBH.)

865 ε]δυ[cατο] with *m* S Σ^Ω: ἐβήc- G D. The traces are at letter-top level; the first is a curve, compatible with the top of δ, while the second suits the upper left-hand corner of υ.

Fr. 30

965 τρο]〚π〛`ϕ´ον: τροφόν with Ω. τρόπον is nonsensical and must have been a slip by the scribe: π and ϕ were frequently interchanged in Roman Egypt (Gignac, *Grammar* i 93, 95).

Fr. 31

989 There is an interlinear trace, the end of a horizontal, above the first δ̣. An apostrophe would be appropriate at this point, but it would be difficult to reconcile with the trace.

Fr. 34

1012 ελ[(‿) – ‾‾: a new reading in place of the medieval manuscripts' μειλίccετο. As the final trace cannot correspond to τ, μειλί]ccετ[ο is excluded; it would in any case be too far to the left in relation to the remains of the neighbouring lines. The scribe probably wrote ἐλλίccετο, 'she begged Jason's companions …', an acceptable reading with essentially the same meaning as μειλίccετο. The initial consonant of λίccομαι is commonly doubled after the augment in Homer for metrical lengthening, e.g. *Il.* 6.45 = *Od.* 10.264 λαβὼν ἐλλίccετο γούνων; see Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* i 176–7 (§70). The verb λίccομαι is often used by Apollonius, for example in the immediate context of our passage: 4.1053 ὣc φάτο λιccομένη (end of Medea's speech); cf. also 4.1117 μηδ' Ἀλκίνοον … | λίccεcθαι. Other instances are given in M. Campbell, *Index verborum in Apollonium Rhodium* (1983) s.v. But the Homeric form with geminated initial consonant after the augment never occurs in Apollonius.

The verb μειλίccομαι is also common in the *Argonautica* and has various shades of meaning, but its sense of 'implore, beseech' is non-Homeric and seems to be an Apollonian innovation; see Livrea on 4.416. It is used in the context of the present episode at 4.1026 τεόν τε πόcιν μειλίccεο. Given this uniquely Apollonian sense of μειλίccομαι, μειλίccετο is probably preferable as the *lectio difficilior*. ἐλλίccετο can be accounted for either as an intrusive gloss or as a Homerization resulting from the frequent association of λίccομαι in Homer with the action of holding someone's knees in supplication, which is precisely what Medea proceeds to do; see *LfgrE* s.v. λίccομαι, λίτομαι (B). In either case, the substitution would have been facilitated by the phonetic and orthographic similarity of the two verbs, both ending in -λίccετο.

Fr. 36

1043 ει ̣ [. All the other manuscripts have Ἱκεcίην, qualifying Ἐρινύν at the end of the previous line. The final trace is an upright. The likeliest possibility is that the scribe committed an itacistic error, writing εικ[εcιην, as at 3.253 and 4.560 before the correction (αυ〚ε〛ι[αχεν, απ]ον〚ε〛ιψαμενουc) and at 4.1179 (ειθειαc). In fact, a trace of a deletion stroke may be detected in the lower half of the epsilon. Otherwise, we would be faced with a different epithet for the Erinys, but I am unable to find one that suits these traces; cf. the list of epithets in E. Wüst, *RE* Suppl. 8 pp. 136–8. The adjective ἱκέcιοc, typical of Zeus, is never applied to the Erinyes elsewhere, but that is not a serious objection to its use here.

Fr. 37

1051 δε λ⟦ε⟧`α´θ[εϲθε]: read λάθεϲθε after the correction. The manuscripts differ in respect of word division: δὲ λάθεϲθε L A: δ᾽ ἐλάθεϲθε *w* (E has the inappropriate δὲ μέθεϲθε). It is unclear whether there was an apostrophe in the papyrus. Cf. **5417** 29 n.

Fr. 38

1089 Of the variants attested for the beginning of this line, only [αιει (S: αἰὲν G *w*: λίην *m*) γαρ] seems to fit.

1090 μεν: ε corrected from ι.

Fr. 39

1162 μεγαρ]οιϲ with Ω: -ρου E, -ρῳ *d*.

1164 τότ᾽: omicron is apparently written over something else.

1170 Fränkel's transposition of 1182–1200 to follow 1169 is not supported. For additional objections based on internal considerations, see Livrea ad loc.

Fr. 40

1179 ειθειαϲ: l. ἰθείαϲ.

Frr. 41–2

1188 δ with Ω: τ᾽ E.

1192 θαμβευ[ν with Ω: -βεον E.

Fr. 43

This fragment contains a remarkably high number of copying errors in proportion to the small quantity of text preserved: at least seven in the space of nine fragmentary lines (1264, 1266, 1268, 1270 (× 2), 1271, 1272; possibly also 1269). Some of them were subsequently corrected.

1264] ̣ ̣πευϲε[̣] ̣ν: ἀμπνεύϲειαν Ω, but the second alpha is written over an erasure in L. The scribe presumably intended -π⟨ν⟩ευϲε[ι]αν. Köchly conjectured ἐμπνεύϲειαν (see Livrea ad loc.), but the initial traces are too damaged to verify either reading. The traces before the final nu seem compatible with α but could also be interpreted as the base and mid-stroke of ε, i.e. -ευϲε[ι]εν, implying singular ἀήτης at the end of 1263: this was presumably the reading of L before erasure; but the base of epsilon does not curve so prominently upwards in this hand, and its mid-stroke is typically higher.

1265 μαλα: a new reading in place of the medieval manuscripts' ἄλα. The combination μάλα πάντοθεν is acceptable and yields goods sense in the context ('in absolutely every direction'), despite the lack of an exact parallel. For μάλα with forms of πᾶϲ, common in Homer, cf. A. R. 1.230, 330, 655, 3.966, 4.718. τεναγώδεα, 'shoals', at 1264 does not require agreement with ἄλα: it is a neuter plural adjective used substantivally (so already Vian); cf. Hsch. τ 467 Cunningham–Hansen τεναγώδεϲι· τόποι ἔνθα ὀλίγον ὕδωρ and the comparable βραχέα (LSJ s.v. βράχεα). WBH suggests that ἄλα is the result of a misunderstood correction περιϲκοπεω͙μαλα, final nu having initially dropped out (cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 111, and **5411** fr. 1.5). Alternatively, ἄλα may have been conjectured in order to supply a noun with which τεναγώδεα might agree, because the substantival use of the adjective was not understood.

1266 πολιοιϲι: πολιῆϲιν Ω. Two-termination πολιόϲ has a handful of attestations, in Homer always in the formula ἁλὸϲ πολιοῖο (see W. Kastner, *Die griechischen Adjektive zweier Endungen auf -OC* (1967) 26), but it is not employed by Apollonius elsewhere. The ending here was probably assimilated to that of ψαμάθοιϲι at the end of the line. For omission of final ν in mid-verse, cf. Vian i p. lxxvii.

1268 χ`ϵ΄ρ[υ]ϲου. The correction of the nonsensical χρυϲοῦ to χέρϲου may be due to the first hand to judge from the shape of the interlinear epsilon.

1269 [πλη]μυριϲ ποντοιο: πλημ(μ)υρὶϲ ἐκ πόντοιο Ω (for the orthography of πλημυρ-, see Vian i p. lxxvi). The phrase with ἐκ is found at *Od.* 9.486. These two passages are the only certain instances of πλημυρίϲ with a short υ; cf. also Bacch. fr. 35 S.–M. πλήμυριν πόντου φυγών, if the editors' metrical analysis of the fragment as E is correct. Elsewhere πλημυρίϲ and its cognates have long υ, including at A. R. 2.576, 4.1241 (both at verse-beginning, as here); see LSJ s.v. and Lightfoot on D. P. 107. C. J. Blomfield, *Aeschyli Choephoroe* (³1834) 127, had in fact proposed the deletion of ἐκ at *Od.* 9.486 and here to regularize the scansion of the word. D. P. 107 uses the phrase πλημυρίδα πόντου at verse-end in a description of the Lesser Syrtes, which suggests that he had read πλημυρὶϲ πόντοιο in his copy of the *Argonautica*; cf. also the fragment of Bacch. cited above. If Apollonius omitted ἐκ, he may have meant his phrase as a 'correction' of his Homeric model. The preposition in the medieval manuscripts is then likely to be an intrusion from Homer.

1270 [νυν `δ] ἤ΄ [μ]ϵν ⟦δη⟧. The scribe transposed μεν and δη, presumably because he misinterpreted the sequence δη in his exemplar as the particle δή, and μὲν δή is the normal order of the words (νῦν μὲν δή, in particular, is a common Homeric verse-beginning). The second hand restores the reading of the medieval manuscripts (νῦν δ' ἡ μέν).

πελαγϵ[.] .ιν[: πελαγόϲδε μετέϲϲυται Ω. Presumably dative plural πελαγϵ[ϲ]ϲιν was written here; alternatives, e.g. πελάγϵ[ϲ]ϲι ν[or πελάγϵ[ι] ϲιν[, seem to lead nowhere. After πελάγεϲϲιν the manuscript reading μετέϲϲυται is unmetrical, unless movable ν is excised. Perhaps the whole phrase πελάγοϲδε μετέϲϲυται was displaced by πελάγεϲϲιν ἐπέϲϲυται due to the influence of phrases like Τρώ<u>εϲϲιν ἐπέϲϲυτ</u>ο at *Il.* 21.227 (WBH).

1271 ϵι]⟦ .ου⟧`λϵι΄ται: ϵἰλεῖται Ω. There is a blank space above the line before the addition, suggesting that the main text before the break contained ϵι]. The deleted letter before ου is apparently μ, but it is difficult to explain the error.

1272 μϵν [πα]ϲαν: πᾶϲαν μὲν Ω. The μέν clause is answered with δαημοϲύνην δέ τιϲ ἄλλοϲ | φαίνοι ἐήν in 1273–4. The scribe simplified the more involved word order of ἐγὼ πᾶϲαν μέν to ἐγὼ μὲν πᾶϲαν (cf. W. Headlam, *CR* 16 (1902) 246). τούνεκ' ἐγὼ μὲν πᾶϲαν breaches both Hilberg's and Giseke's Laws, the first because it gives a 'metrical word' (ἐγὼ μέν) ending after contracted second biceps, the second because it gives a metrical word beginning in the first foot and ending after the second biceps; see E. Magnelli, *MD* 35 (1995) 134–64, esp. 136, 146–7, 157–8, where it is calculated that this combination of breaches occurs only in 0.7% of verses in the *Argonautica*.

Fr. 44

1306 νωνυμνοι̣ with L and **5429**: νώνυμοι A *w* E; see Vian i p. lxxv.

1309 ηρω̣ϲϲαι̣ with *m*, S, and the lemma of Σ^AJ: ἡρῷϲαι G: ἡρῶαι D: ἡρῴϲϲαι the lemma of Σ^L and Herodian according to Σ^ΩJ: ἤρωϲϲαι *Et. Gen.*^A: ἡρωῖναι Σ^L(J). Only the end of the word (]ϲαι) is preserved in **5429**. The rare noun recurs in 1323 (ἡρῶϲϲαι *m* S: -ῶιϲϲαι L^2pc: -ῶϲαι G) and 1358 (ἡρῶϲϲαι Ω: -ῶϲαι *d*). It is similarly spelt without iota adscript in the papyrus of Call. *Aet.* fr. 66.1 Pf./Harder (= XIX **2211** fr. 11.1), which otherwise supplies iota adscript where we expect it; cf. also Nicaenet. *AP* 6.225.1, 6 (*HE* 2689, 2694), and see further Livrea on A. R. 4.1309.

1310 οτ᾽ ϵκφα[: the medieval manuscripts have ὅτ᾽ ἐκ πατρὸϲ κεφαλῆϲ θόρε παμφαίνουϲα. If this was what the scribe's exemplar carried, the simplest explanation is that the scribe wrote φατροϲ for πατροϲ in anticipation of κε<u>φα</u>λῆϲ (WBH); for this type of error, cf. Diggle, *Euripidea* 288, and for another π/φ interchange, see 4.965 n. Another possibility is that his eye jumped from ϵκ to κεφαληϲ, confusing ϵκ

and κε: read ἐκ ⟨πατρος κε⟩φαλης (cf. 520 n.); but one would have expected such a large omission to have been corrected by the second hand.

Fr. 45

1536 ε]θεν[το]. There is an unexplained trace of ink on the edge of the papyrus above the nu.

Fr. 46

1542 There seems to be a trace resembling an acute accent above the second τ of οξυ]τ̣α̣τ[ον.

Unplaced fragments

Fr. 47   Fr. 48   Fr. 49

 .   .   .   .   .   .
] . . ην . [   ] . η . [   ] . . . [
                                ]μν[   ]νεκ[
                                 .   .   .   .

Fr. 47

] . . , first, compatible with the lower part of the second half of μ; second, the lower part of an upright (ι, γ, τ)   . [, after a small blank space, the lower left quadrant of a circle or an arc near line-level

Probably from 3.245, close to fr. 1: επωνυ]μιην Φ[αεθοντα. This identification is compatible with the reconstruction of the column height offered in the introduction: if 7 columns of 27 lines and two columns of 28 lines preceded, line 245 would fall exactly at the foot of the ninth column: (27 × 7) + (28 × 2) = 245.

Fr. 48

1] . , the curved tip of a descending oblique or horizontal touching η at the foot   . [, a left arc or rounded upright with a horizontal join at two-thirds height (ε, θ, η)

Probably 4.1022–3, close to fr. 35:

              .   .   .   .
αφωρ]μηθ[ην
        ] μν[ηcαcθαι.
      .   .   .   .

Fr. 49

1] . . . [, feet of letters: first, a gently descending oblique touching the following letter at one-third height (α, λ?); second, an upright curving to the right at the top to touch the following letter at about one-third height (λ?); third, the thick foot of an upright with a half-serif on the right

3.306–7 or 369–70?

Fr. 50	Fr. 51	Fr. 52	Fr. 53	Fr. 54
. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
]ν.[	].αν[	]...[	]..α[	].μν.[
]ε.[	. .	]εν[	]cα[	. .
].[		. .	].ο.[	
. .			. .	

Fr. 50

1 .[, a short upright or part of a right-facing arc (ο, ω?)   2 .[, τ or π   3].[, an upright

Possibly 4.917–19 (WBH):

.   .   .   .
[αλλα μι]ν ο[ικτειραca
[Κυπριc] ετ [
[προφρω]ν [
.   .   .   .

Fr. 51

].. κ or χ

Fr. 52

1]...[, letter feet: first, a dot at line-level; second, the foot of a descending oblique with a half-serif; third, part of a left arc

Fr. 53

1].., the end of a horizontal at line-level, then a very tall upright   3]., γ or τ   .[, an upright with a left-pointing hook (e.g. ι) or join (e.g. ν) at the top

Possibly 4.636–8 (WBH):

.   .   .   .
πεπταντ]αι α[θεcφατ
πελα]cα[ν
] τον [
.   .   .   .

Fr. 54

].., a blob level with the letter-tops   .[, a dot level with the letter-tops, then an upright

A. BENAISSA

5422. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.389–95, 429–34
(Addendum to XXXIV **2702**)

65 6B.39/E(4)a(2)   5.5 × 5.3 cm   Late sixth century

A small fragment of a papyrus codex leaf. The inner margin is extant to a width of *c.* 1.7 cm on the ↓ side. The line length was about 13–14 cm. A page held about 41 lines, and the written area was about 26 cm high. The hand and dimensions are a good match for those of XXXIV **2702** (inv. 62 6B.52/D(1)), the innermost sheet of a quire, containing verses of Book 2 with marginalia (Π^{17}; *CLGP* I.1.3 pp. 27–8). If the two fragments belong to the same codex, **5422** can be placed in the lower part of the eighth leaf after the last page of **2702**.

The hand is an example of the Sloping Pointed Majuscule: cf. **5404–8** above for the type. **2702** was assigned to the fifth century by its editor, who compared XI **1374** (Aristophanes), but that codex has since been assigned to the late sixth century (*GBEBP* 42b), and **2702** + **5422** may perhaps be assigned to the same period: cf. e.g. *GBEBP* 39a (P. Berol. 11754 + 21187, Homer), assigned to the second half of the sixth century. The document LXXXIII **5392** (582–90) provides a dated anchor.

An apostrophe added by the scribe signals elision at 394. Some of the accents are certainly due to a second hand (e.g. the circumflex at 431).

There are no new readings. These lines are not otherwise known from papyri.

↓   →

```
            .     .     .                          .     .     .
        τλαίη εκω[ν                              ] . [
   390  και κρυερ[η                   430   αναγ]κης
        δὸς χαριν [                         βασιλ]ῆος
        θεςπεςίην [                            το]ν γε
        προφρονες [                         αςχ]αλόωντα
        ει τ' ουν Caυρ[οματας               ] . . [ . ] . [
   395  δῆμ[ο]ν [                           .     .     .
            .     .     .
```

↓

391 δὸς. For the accent on a monosyllabic verb, see J. Moore-Blunt, *QUCC* 29 (1978) 159.

→

429] . [: a trace on the line.
434] . . [.] . [: traces on damaged surface.

                                        C. D'AGOSTINO

5423. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.446–67

104/55(c)   2.5 × 14.7 cm   Late second or early third century

A narrow vertical strip of papyrus irregularly broken on the right, with remains of one column running along the fibres. An upper margin of 1.9 cm is preserved. The back is blank.

The hand is a fairly small, rapid, and rather informal version of the Severe Style with a slight slant to the right. The downward strokes are often quite thick. ϵ, θ, and c are narrow, and o is small and raised, but the contrast between broad and narrow letters is not as emphatic as in more formalized versions of this style. α is angular, μ has a high central stroke, and v is large and Y-shaped. A comparable hand can be found in P. Mich. inv. 3 (Roberts, *GLH* 15*c*; MP³ 346), which has a dating formula from AD 192/3 on the back and is assigned to the second half of the second century.

Lectional signs include acute and circumflex accents, rough breathings in Turner's form 1, and apostrophes. It is unclear whether they should be attributed to the main scribe or a second hand.

The text does not overlap any published papyri. A modern conjecture in 462 and a variant favoured by Fränkel in 454 are not supported.

$$
\begin{array}{ll}
 & \eta \upsilon]\tau' \, o\nu\epsilon\iota\rho o[c] \\
 &] \; \underset{.}{\nu}\iota co\mu\epsilon\nu[o\iota o] \\
 &] \; \underset{.}{\alpha}c\chi\alpha\lambda o\underset{.}{\omega}[\nu\tau\epsilon c] \\
 & \pi\epsilon\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon]\nu\eta \; A\iota\eta\underset{.}{\tau}[\alpha o] \\
450 & \upsilon\iota\alpha]\underset{.}{c}\iota\nu \; \hat{o}\iota c\iota \; \beta\underset{.}{\epsilon}[\beta\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota] \\
 & \pi o\lambda]\lambda\alpha \; \underset{.}{\delta}\underset{.}{\epsilon} \; \theta\upsilon\underset{.}{\mu}[\omega\iota] \\
 & \epsilon\pi o\tau\rho\upsilon\nu o\upsilon]\underset{.}{c}\iota \; \mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon c\underset{.}{\theta}[\alpha\iota] \\
 & \iota\nu\delta\alpha\lambda]\lambda\epsilon\tau o \; \pi\underset{.}{\alpha}[\nu\tau\alpha] \\
 & \phi\alpha\rho\epsilon c\iota\nu \; \eta]\underset{.}{c}\tau o \\
455 & \tau]\underset{.}{\epsilon} \; \theta\upsilon\underset{.}{\rho}[\alpha\zeta\epsilon] \\
 & \pi o\rho\phi\upsilon]\rho o\upsilon[c\alpha] \\
 & \alpha\iota]\epsilon\nu \; \underset{.}{o}[\rho\omega\rho\epsilon\iota] \\
 &] \; \alpha\gamma\underset{.}{o}[\rho\epsilon\upsilon c\epsilon] \\
 &] \; \kappa\alpha\iota \; \underset{.}{\alpha}[\upsilon\tau o c] \\
460 &] \; \pi\alpha\underset{.}{\mu}[\pi\alpha\nu] \\
 &] \; \pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha[c] \\
 & \kappa\eta]\underset{.}{\delta}o\underset{.}{c}\upsilon\nu\eta[\iota c\iota\nu] \\
 & \alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\epsilon]\iota\kappa\alpha\tau o \; \underset{.}{\mu}[\upsilon\theta o\nu] \\
 &] \; \underset{.}{\theta}' \; \overset{\smile}{o} \; \gamma\epsilon \; \pi\alpha\underset{.}{\nu}[\tau\omega\nu]
\end{array}
$$

465   ] τε χερει̣[ων]
         εξα]λεαϲθαι [
                    ] πε̣λοιτ̣ο̣ [

         .   .   .   .   .

447 ν̣ιϲομεν[οιο]: νιϲ- (or νειϲ-) rather than νιϲϲ- is the preferred spelling of this verb in manu-scripts of Apollonius (including *Π*²⁵); see Vian i p. lxxv and cf. West, *Il.* praef. p. xxxiii, and Campbell on A. R. 3.210. The initial trace is an upright, excluding ν]ε̣ιϲ-: contrast **5417** 906.

454 η]ϲ̣το restored with *Ω*: εἶτο E: ἔϲτο D. εἶτο, adopted by Fränkel, is excluded here: the initial trace is the end of a horizontal merging with the bar of τ, incompatible with ι. On these variants, and the preference for the rare form ἦϲτο (irregular pluperfect passive of ἔννυμι, attested as an Aristarchean variant at *Od.* 11.191), see Vian, Campbell, and Hunter ad loc.

462 κη]δοϲυνη[ιϲιν]: the reading of *Ω* *Σ^(*Ω*par), retained by Vian. Damsté conjectured ῥέεν ἠδ' ὀδύνηιϲιν and Schneider, followed by Fränkel, κηδοϲύνηι τε, but see Vian, Campbell, and Hunter ad loc. for a defence of the manuscript reading. The trace after *o* here cannot be part of δ for reasons of space.

463 ανενε]ικατο. There is a small horizontal trace above ι. The acute accent in 464 is longer and slopes more steeply upwards, and an accent would be expected above the first letter of the diphthong (contrast 450 ὁ̂ιϲι). Perhaps the scribe wrote ι for ει, and a second hand added a macron above ι to indicate a long vowel.

467 πε̣λοιτ̣ο̣ with *Ω*: γένοιτο S. π is virtually certain, because the horizontal of γ would have ex-tended further to the right so as almost to touch the following ε: compare γε at 464.

A. BENAISSA

5424. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 3.1322–6
(Addendum to XXXIV **2699**)

17 2B.53/E(e)   3.4 × 2.7 cm   Fourth century

XXXIV **2699** is a column preserved to its full height giving the first 35 lines of the book with a title in the upper margin. Its inventory number (17 2B.53/F(a) + 16 2B.50/J) indicates that **5424**, a scrap in the same hand, was found together with it, and the two pieces may be assumed to belong to the same copy. If the average column held the same number of lines as the first, **5424** will belong to the 38th of the 41 columns needed for the book.

The hand, which combines features of the Severe Style and the Biblical Majuscule, was assigned by Turner to the fourth century: see *GMAW*² 49, and cf. e.g. LXXIX **5193** introd. The acute accents at 1322 (?) and 1324, like some of the diacritical marks in **2699**, seem to be written with a thinner pen. They are placed well over to the right: cf. **2699** 12 μήϲεαι, 27, 35.

The papyrus might have been hoped to illuminate the difficulty at the start of 1326, but what it offers is damaged and ambiguous. These lines are not preserved in any other papyri.

$$. \quad . \quad .$$
$$[\pi]\acute{\eta}[\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha$$
$$\epsilon\rho\chi\alpha\tau\iota\nu\dot{.}\dot{.}\dot{.}[\eta\varsigma$$
$$[o]\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega\nu\ [$$
1325 $\quad[\tau]\upsilon\kappa\tau\eta\nu\ \epsilon\xi\ [$
$$]\dot{.}\,[\,]\ .\ .\ .\,[$$
$$. \quad . \quad .$$

1322 [π]ή[ληκα. The accent, if correctly identified, is represented by a trace on the right-hand edge just above letter-top level.

1325 [τ]υκτην with *Ω* (Vian): τυτθὴν E.

1326] . [ ] . . . [: high traces, the first extending higher up than the others. The last two, separated by a short gap in the papyrus, may represent a single crossbar. Following οἱ at the beginning of the line, L A G have the hypermetric δήτοι (δ' ἤτοι A) εἴωϲ (εἴ- G) μὲν δή), and S E δὴ τείωϲ μὲν. Vian adopts Merkel's conjecture δ' εἴωϲ μὲν δή: see his addenda (p. 159). [οι δ]ʼ ητ[οι could be considered here: the second trace will then represent the top of the second upright of η, and the last two traces will belong to the upper edge of the crossbar of τ. In that case, the papyrus may have had the text of A, or Fränkel's conjecture δ' ἤτοι τέωϲ μέν.

W. B. HENRY

5425. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.232–42, 269–80

25 3B.58/F(b)   12.5 × 8.3 cm   Fourth century

The top of a papyrus codex leaf. The upper margin is 2.2 cm deep and the inner margin 1.6 cm wide; the other margins do not survive. Five lines and the interlinear space below the fifth occupy a space 2.6 cm high, and a page held 37 lines. The height of the written area will have been about 19.2 cm; its width was about 13.5 cm. The codex may be placed in Turner's Group 5 (*Typology* 16–17).

The hand, a somewhat irregular sloping Severe Style, is comparable to that of P. Herm. 5 (*GMAW*² 70) of about 317–23. Iota adscript is not written. Diaeresis is used on initial *υ* at 277 and internally at 237, 238, and 273. There is one accent, an acute at 239. The scribe punctuates with a high stop at 238 and 239, and elision is marked at 232 and 275. Further punctuation and diacritical signs may have been lost to surface damage: ink has flaked off in many places. A false reading is crossed out and corrected above the line at 242. There is no evidence that more than one hand has contributed.

5425 offers several new readings. Those at 234, 274, and 278 are attractive; the last provides the definitive solution to a longstanding puzzle. Novelties at 235 and 270 seem more likely to be corruptions; another at 239 is largely lost. A new spelling (241) is of uncertain value.

Early parts of 269–79 are preserved in P. Bodl. I 164, assigned to the sixth/seventh century (R. Luiselli, *ZPE* 142 (2003) 153–7). These lines are not otherwise known from ancient copies.

A draft edition of this papyrus was prepared by C. Kaesser.

→

η [πλωτης ευρον]τες [ε]τ' ε[ι]ν α[λ]ος οι[δματι
α[ξουσιν και θυ]μον ενιπλης[ει] με[νεαινων]
κε]φαλησι δαηςεςθε cφ[ετερηςι]

235   ]· και π[α]ςαν εην επ[ιδεγμενοι] α[την
] αυτω δ ενι ηματι Κο[λχοι
]ςα[ντο] κ[α]ι αρμενα νηϋςι βαλοντ[ο
ημα]τ[ι] ποντον ανηϊον· ουδε κε φαιης [
].[]ντ.[...]. έμμεναι· αλλ οιωνων [

240   αςπε]τον ε[θν]ο[ς] επιβρομεειν πελα[γεσσιν]
] θεας βουλησιν αεντ[ος]
][ᾱια]ιαο δ[ομοιςιν]

.   .   .   .

↓

Τριτω]ν [..].ρ[..]......α.[

270   Διοθ]εν [δ] ου πω ποτε δευ[ει
προχοα]ιςι [δ α]ναςταχυουσιν [
] δη [τινα φας]ι περιξ δια παςαν οδ[ευςαι
[Ευρωπη]ν [Αςιη]ν τε βιη και καρτεϊ [
[cφωι]τερων [α]ρετη τε [π]εποιθοτα μ[υρια

275 [ναςς]ατ' επο[ι]χομενος τα μεν ου.......[
].. [πουλ]υς γαρ αδην επε[νη]νοθε[ν] α[ιων
ετ]ι νυν μενει εμπεδ[ον] ϋιω[νοι
ανδρ]ων ους αυθ[ι] καθιςς[ατο
γραπτυ]ς πατερων [

280   ο]δοι κ[αι

.   .   .   .

→

233 ενιπλης[ει] with R (ἐνιπλήσει) as reported by G. Speake, *GRBS* 16 (1975) 111, and D (ἐνὶ πλήσει): ἐπιπλήσει Ω, -σσει S. ἐνιπλήσει is rightly printed by Vian. Livrea considers but does not print the conjecture ἀναπλήσει: see further his note. As Speake notes, ἐνι- may be a conjecture in D R, but the scribe (Demetrius Moschus) may simply have confused ἐνι- and ἐπι-.

234–5 Vian has the following at 230–36:

> δεινὰ δὲ παντὶ παρασχεδὸν ἤπυε λαῷ·
> εἰ μή οἱ κούρην αὐτάγρετον ἢ ἀνὰ γαῖαν
> ἢ πλωτῆς εὑρόντες ἔτ' εἰν ἁλὸς οἴδματι νῆα
> ἄξουσιν καὶ θυμὸν ἐνιπλήσει μενεαίνων
> τίσασθαι τάδε πάντα, δαήσονται κεφαλῇσι
> πάντα χόλον καὶ πᾶσαν ἑὴν ὑποδέγμενοι ἄτην.
>   ὣς ἔφατ' Αἰήτης κτλ.

The new readings of our papyrus suggest a different structure. Here is a revised text, in which I adopt M. Campbell's conjecture πλωτήν at 232 (but not his translation, *CQ* 21 (1971) 419) and retain the traditional reading at 235, defended below:

> δεινὰ δὲ παντὶ παρασχεδὸν ἤπυε λαῷ
> εἰ μή οἱ κούρην αὐτάγρετον ἢ ἀνὰ γαῖαν
> ἢ πλωτὴν εὑρόντες ἔτ' εἰν ἁλὸς οἴδματι νῆα
> ἄξουσιν καὶ θυμὸν ἐνιπλήσει μενεαίνων
> τίσασθαι· "κεφαλῇσι δαήσεσθε σφετέρῃσι
> πάντα χόλον καὶ πᾶσαν ἑὴν ὑποδέγμενοι ἄτην."
>   ὣς ἔφατ' Αἰήτης κτλ.

'and he straight away made terrible threats to the whole people if they did not bring him his daughter caught immediately, either on land or finding the ship still afloat on the wave of the sea, and if he did not sate his heart in his eagerness to punish: "You will learn at the cost of your lives, receiving all my anger and all your ruin". So spoke Aeetes …'

The conditional clause beginning at 231 now goes with what precedes rather than what follows (cf. e.g. 1.1348–50), and 234–5 includes a quotation of Aeetes' words, introduced at 230. This is clearly right: ὣς ἔφατ' at 236 should follow direct speech.[1] σφετέρῃσι (234; cf. *Il.* 4.162 σὺν σφῇσιν κεφαλῇσι) and ἑήν (235) are now both equivalent to the corresponding forms of ὑμέτερος. For the former use, cf. 1327 and e.g. Campbell on 3.186, and for the latter, e.g. 3.267; A. Rengakos, *Der Homertext und die hellenistischen Dichter* (1993) 117–18. δαήσονται for δαήσεσθε (234) may be due to the influence of the third person plural ἄξουσιν in the previous line; perhaps κεφαλῇσι was moved to the end of the line in place of σφετέρῃσι after τάδε πάντα had found its way into the text (from an explanation?), producing a hypermetric line.

235 επ[ιδεγμενοι] in place of the usual reading ὑποδέγμενοι is not required by the structure as elucidated above. ἐπιδέχομαι is not at home in epic, and ὑπο- is probably to be accepted. For the confusion, cf. e.g. 1.462 ὑποφρασθεὶς Ω: επι- Π⁵ (XXXIV **2695**); J. Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* (1981) 40.

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[1] 1121 ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη is taken by Vian to be a parallel for the use of such a speech-closing formula after a 'discours au style indirect' (cf. Richardson on *h.Dem.* 314–23), but it is easier to suppose that there is a switch to direct speech at 1117 (so P. Green (tr.), *The Argonautika by Apollonios Rhodios* (1997) 180).

237]ϲα[ντο. ειρυ]ϲα[ντο (Ω) is a better fit for the space than Brunck's ειρυϲ]ϲα[ντο, adopted by Vian, but cannot be confirmed. Cf. **5420** 149 n.

νηϋϲι. The word scans as a disyllable, as expected. For the diaeresis, cf. Ap. Dysc. *Adv.* p. 150.2–3 Schneider οὐκ ἔϲτιν ἐπινοῆϲαι ⟨τὸ η̄⟩ καὶ τὸ ῡ ἐν μιᾷ ϲυλλαβῇ, ὅτε μὴ ἐν κλίϲει ῥήματοϲ, αὐλῶ ηὔλουν, αὐχῶ ηὔχουν; Epimer. Hom. η 1 with Dyck's note.

239] ̣.[] ̣ντ ̣.[. . .] ̣. The traces are on a fragment attached here on the basis of the text in 277 and 240; the vertical fibres are damaged and continuity cannot be conclusively established. We expect τόϲϲον νηΐτην ϲτόλον at the beginning of the line, but the papyrus must have had something else. The low trace at the start does not much narrow down the possibilities. Traces on a small displaced strip attached by tape near the start are not included in the transcription.

240 At the start, perhaps ἰλαδὸν (*w* E, Vian) rather than ἰλλ- (L A).

241 θ ̣εαϲ. The traces between ε and ϲ suggest α or λ. Vian keeps θεῆϲ, as in the other copies; Merkel had substituted the usual form θεᾶϲ. Cf. 3.252 (θεῆϲ Ω, accepted by Vian: θεᾶϲ I Z) with Campbell's note.

242]⟦αια⟧`ελ´ιαο. Following the correction, the reading will have been the usual Πελίαο. It is not certain that π was written on the line, but it seems likely that there was room for it. Αἰαίη at the start of the next line was perhaps at the back of the scribe's mind, but αι for ε is an easy phonetic error (Gignac, *Grammar* i 191–3), and visual confusion of α and λ is familiar.

↓

269 [̣. ̣] ̣ρ[̣. ̣] ̣. E.g. [ευ]ρρ[οο]ϲ (or [ην]ρρ[οο]ϲ), but the last trace is too badly rubbed to be identified with any confidence. Vian gives ἐύρ(ρ)οοϲ as the reading of Ω, and adopts Meineke's correction εὐρύρροοϲ in preference to Hölzlin's ἠύρροοϲ.

. . . . . .α ̣.[̣. ω υπο παϲ[α may have been written, as expected, but the surface is abraded and the reading cannot be confirmed.

270 [δ] ου πω ποτε. Vian has δέ μιν οὔ ποτε and records no variants. The familiar text is clearly better: cf. *Od.* 6.43–4 οὔτέ ποτ' ὄμβρῳ | δεύεται. The unsuitable ου πω for οὐ will be due to the influence of οὔ πω … οὐδέ τί πω at 261–2; then δέ μιν before it may have been reduced to δ' in an attempt to restore the metre.

271 προχοα]ιϲι [δ. So L *w* (-οαῖϲ ιδ') and L⁴ A (-οαῖϲι δ'). Q has προχοῇϲι δ', printed by Vian, and E -οῆϲιν. Cf. e.g. the supralinear variant παϲαιϲιν for -ϲηϲιν in Π⁷ at 1.700 with Haslam's note in *CLGP* I.1.3 p. 10. (προχοη]ιϲι is no more than a theoretical possibility: the scribe does not use iota adscript.)

274 [α]ρετη: θάρϲει Ω. ἀρετῇ is preferable: cf. 1384 ᾗ βίῃ, ᾗ ἀρετῇ. θάρϲει would be a little awkward as θάρϲοϲ and πεποίθηϲιϲ are near-synonyms: perhaps it entered the text from a paraphrase.

275 ο ̣υ. Not η: the first trace suggests the circlet of ο. Following ο ̣υ, nothing can be read with any confidence. οὐ is the reading of L A G *Σ*ᴶˡᵉᵐ, cf. *Σ*ᴸ, but ἤ (S E) is required by the sense.

276] ̣. ̣.[. The expected κα] ̣ι ο[υ cannot be confirmed.

278 αυθ ̣[ι was supplanted in Ω by the unmetrical ὅγε, which no doubt made its way into the text from an annotation indicating that Sesostris is once again the subject. Various solutions have been proposed, but αὖθι does not seem to be among them.

<div align="right">W. B. HENRY</div>

5426. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.504–19
(Addendum to XXXIV **2691**)

112/44(a)　　　　　　　　　　5.5 × 10.5 cm　　　　　First century BC/first century AD

Part of one column of a papyrus roll, with text running parallel to the fibres. The back is blank. The original length of line 510 will have been *c.* 12 cm.

The hand matches that of XXXIV **2691** (Π^{30}), which gives 4.348–56 and 1128–35. v in the present fragment is always looped at the base, while **2691** fr. 2 also has a y-shaped form; the letter is not attested in **2691** fr. 1. There are broadly similar hands in P. Fay. 6 and 7 (Roberts, *GLH* 9*c*, *b*), dated on circumstantial grounds to the end of the first century BC.

There is one single-dot diaeresis in the main hand at 506 but no other lection signs. Elision is effected but not marked. Iota adscript is written (510).

The papyrus offers a new solution to the crux in 511 and a new spelling in 508.

XXXIV **2694** (Π^{16}) is the only papyrus that overlaps **5426**. It gives parts of 504–12.

```
          .     .     .     .     .
              ] . . [
505   [νωλε]μες οφ[ρ
      [αλλαω]ν ὑπατ[ην
      [Κολχο]ι δ οππ[οτ
      ητοι μεν διζῃ[cθαι
      Αργω και Μινυα[c
510   Ηρη cμερδαλεηιcι κα[τ
      [υ]cτατον οι δη γ[αρ τε
      [c]τυξαν ατυζομ[ενοι
      εμπεδον αλλυδ[ιc
      [ο]ι μεν επ αυταων [
515   [η]ρωες να[ιουcι
      [οι] δ αρ επ Ιλ[λυρικοιο
      τυμβος ιν [
      [α]νδραcιν [
      [ε]νναι[ουcιν
          .     .     .     .     .
```

504 . . : e.g. [ριμφα δε] νη [, as expected.

505 [νωλε]μες: the first trace is a high loop, compatible with the top right-hand corner of μ. νωλεμές, ὄφρ' is the reading of Ω, while in Π^{16} this line starts νω[λε]με⟦ω⟧c . . ε[. (The marginal *ancora* in that papyrus will indicate that there was a note on the line: cf. *CLGP* I.1.3 p. 20.)

508 διζη[cθαι: δίζεcθαι *Ω*, as also at 1.1303. Apollonius has various forms with η: 1.1208 δίζητο (Par.: *Ω* has the unmetrical δίζετο), 3.1179 and 4.1473 διζήμενοc, 4.124 διζημένω, 396 διζήμεθα. Parts of δίζομαι are found in other Hellenistic authors, but the replacement of δίζηcθαι with the more familiar infinitive δίζεcθαι is also found at Hes. *Op.* 603, and our papyrus suggests that it may have occurred in the two cases in Apollonius. (O. Schneider, *Callimachea* i (1870) 413–14, discusses the use of δίζομαι and δίζημαι, but prefers to retain δίζεcθαι in Apollonius.)

511 [υ]cτατον οι δη γ[αρ τε. The new reading οι solves a textual puzzle. The papyrus text can be supplemented and articulated [ὕ]cτατον οἵ—δὴ γ[άρ τε κτλ., referring to the Colchians 'who later—for' etc., with the interrupted relative clause continuing in 513. For relative clauses interrupted by parentheses, cf. 2.913 (interruption by δὴ γάρ) and 3.500, and for the relative pronoun in second place, 1.398 and 4.292. This instance would still be unusual, as the interruption comes directly after the relative pronoun. The quotations in *Et. Gen.* s.v. Κυταιΐδοc and *EM* s.v. Κύταια begin with δὴ (δεῖ *EM*) γάρ τε, confirming both those words and the preceding syntactic break. Elsewhere in the direct tradition, ὕcτατον οἵ—δὴ γάρ τε has been replaced by ὕcτατον αὐτοὶ δ' αὖτε, with its oddly postponed δ' αὖτε and asyndeton in 513 (hence E's correction there to ἔμπεδα δ'). L now has αὐτοὶ δ' αὖ written on an erasure, and its original reading is lost, but it may well have agreed with **5426**: cf. Vian ii p. x with n. 3. The relevant part of *Π*[16] is missing. Perhaps the confusing sequence οἳ δὴ γάρ τε prompted a scribe to replace οἵ with a different pronoun and led to the corruption. In Merkel's ὕcτατον αὖ—δὴ γάρ τε κτλ., adopted by Vian, the αὖ is implausible; at 4.366 ὕcτατον αὖ, it is justified at the end of a catalogue, but that is not the situation here.

512 [c]τυξαν restored with *w*: τύ- *m*, τῆ- E[2sl].

O. THOMAS

5427. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.877–85, 917–23

72/25(a)   11.9 × 6.2 cm   Second century

A fragment of a roll with text running along the fibres gives the right-hand half of part of a column and some initial letters of lines belonging to the next column. The papyrus is irregularly broken on all sides and much abraded in places. The intercolumnium measures between 2.1 and 3.9 cm. A column of this papyrus would have contained about 38 lines and measured *c.* 27.4 cm in height. The back preserves the beginning (?) of a document written across the fibres upside down in relation to the front.

The writing is in an upright, non-bilinear, semi-cursive hand comparable to those of the Greek–Latin Glossary LXXVIII **5162**, assigned to i/ii, and P. Phil. 1 (Roberts, *GLH* 13*a*) of 120–24. Letters of note are α with both rounded and pointed nose (the latter at 917), the occasionally cursive ε (e.g. 880), and κ with inwardly curved arms. The scribe regularly effects elision. Lectional signs include apostrophes, accents, a rough breathing in Turner's form 3 (879), and stops. The placing of the stop above the level of the letter-tops at 880 suggests that these aids were added after the copying of the text, possibly by a second hand.

In the intercolumnium, opposite what would have been line 915, there are traces of marginal text, unfortunately indistinct. A faint trace of a critical sign is also visible in the margin opposite line 918, but its nature and function are equally unclear.

The papyrus offers new and arguably superior readings at 882 and 883. It overlaps **5421** at 878–81.

Col. i   Col. ii

.   .   .   .

ηυ]τ ο[νε]ιρος [   ]......[

θ]οῶς καὶ εϲη[λ]ατο πο[ντο]ν   [

ο]υ [τι π]αλιϲϲυτος ἵκετ' οπιϲϲω·   αλλ[α

880   δ]ηϲεν φρενας· αλ[λ]α και εμπης   .   Κυπρις ἑτ' ε[ν

] Θετιδος μ[ε]τεειπεν εταιροις·   προ[φρων

λ]ηξαν και ελυϲαν αεθλους   920   οι [

δορ]πον δε χαμ[ευνας] τ' [αμ]φ[επεν]οντο   κ[υντερα

νυκ]τ' άεϲαν [   ]   τη[

885   φαε]ϲφ[ορος ουρανον Ηω]ς   τη[

.   .   .   .

Col. i

878 πο[ντο]ν with Ω: πόντῳ S.

879 The final sigma of π]αλιϲϲυτος appears to have been omitted at first and then squeezed in between omicron and the following iota at around two-thirds height.

880 δ]ηϲεν with *m*: δῆϲε *w* E (see Vian i p. lxxvii).

882 ελυϲαν: a new reading. The medieval manuscripts have ἔπαυϲαν. I have not found the expression λύειν ἄεθλον/-ους elsewhere. It is supported by the Homeric use of λύω in the sense of 'to break up (an assembly)', as in *Il.* 1.305 λῦϲαν δ' ἀγορήν ~ *Arg.* 1.708 ἦ καὶ ἔλυϲ' ἀγορήν, 24.1 λῦτο δ' ἀγών (funeral games for Patroclus); see *LfgrE* s.v. I.2.c and LSJ s.v. II.1 for additional examples. λῆξαν καὶ ἔπαυϲαν ἀέθλους, furthermore, sounds redundant in retrospect. The only close parallel for παύω in a similar context is *Od.* 4.659 καὶ παῦϲαν ἀέθλων, where the verb is followed by a genitive of separation rather than a direct object. The replacement of ἔλυϲαν by ἔπαυϲαν in the later tradition could be due to recollection of this passage. Alternatively, ἔπαυϲαν may be an intrusive gloss on ἔλυϲαν.

It is perhaps worth noting that aorist forms of λύω followed by the genitive plural ἀέθλων occur at verse-end in two passages in the sense of 'to free or release from labours', 1.903 λύϲειαν ἀέθλων and 3.997 ὑπελύϲατ' ἀέθλων. It could therefore conversely be argued that ἔπαυϲαν was displaced by ἔλυϲαν through recall of these phrases. Some may also feel uncomfortable with the jingle λῆξαν … ἔλυϲαν: a sign of corruption by assimilation (cf. J. Diggle, *Euripidea* (1994) 469–70)? On balance, however, ἔλυϲαν seems preferable as the *lectio difficilior*. The substitution in either direction would only have required a small change, the replacement of πα with λ or vice versa. Dr Almut Fries points to a similar confusion in E. *Supp.* 638–9, where ἀπολύϲω is Herwerden's conjecture for ἀποπαύϲω in L; cf. J. Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* (1981) 17, and *Euripidea* 61 n. 11, for similar conjectures in *Hec.* 918 and *Hel.* 1153–4.

883 δε: a new reading. The other manuscripts have τε. δέ seems more suitable as a connective, since this sentence describes the next step in the narrative. WBH points to *Il.* 23.55 ἐϲϲυμένως δ' ἄρα δόρπον ἐφοπλίϲϲαντες ἔκαϲτοι | δαίνυντ'. δέ was probably corrupted to τε under the influence of the following χαμεύνας τ'. The two particles are frequently confused (e.g. at 1026).

Col. ii

915 *mg.* . . . . These traces are too exiguous and damaged for a reconstruction: the fourth per-haps represents *ν*, the last perhaps *α*. It is uncertain whether the annotation goes with col. i or col. ii. Lines 914–15 to the right mention Boutes' dive into the sea in response to the Sirens' irresistible song. The extant scholia are silent at this point.

918 *mg.* . . The unidentified marginal sign is tall and narrow and seems to have a loop at the foot. The corresponding line mentions Aphrodite's intervention to save Boutes.

918 *Κυπρις*: *π* is written over *τ*.

A. BENAISSA

5428. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.1020–50

123/65   9 × 18.1 cm   Late first/early second century

A column of a roll preserved to its full height of 12.8 cm. The text runs along the fibres and the back is blank. The upper margin is preserved to a depth of 2.3 cm and the lower margin to a depth of 3 cm. The column width was about 10.5 cm. This will be the 34th column of the roll; another 24 columns will have followed. The edge of a sheet-join runs down 3.7 cm to the right of the left edge.

The hand is that of XXII **2321** (Anacreon). Lobel notes in his edition of that text that the same hand was also responsible for LXIV **4425** (Aratus) and **4429** (Lycophron), and compares XVII **2085** (commentary on Euphorion) and P. Ryl. III 551 (Lycurgus). The editor of XXXIV **2693** (A. R. 3) mistakenly assumes that the Apollonius papyrus to which Lobel refers, specified in his notes but not in his edition of **2321**, is **2693** itself, but WBH observes that the letters in that papyrus tend to be taller and narrower, as also in P. Oxy. Hels. 2 (*Iliad* 1), whose editor compares both **2693** and **2321**.

There are numerous lection signs, including internal diaereses, all three accents, and rough breathings (in Turner's form 1). Stops in mid-line are written above the letter-tops with no space left on either side, while those at line-end are written at or just below letter-top level well to the right of the text. Elision is effected and marked by apostrophe where one can check. It is possible but not certain that the lection signs are all due to the hand of the main text. Two letters are crossed out and a correction written above the line at 1043; again, it is possible that the hand of the main text is responsible for the alteration. Iota adscript is written where expected and once superfluously (1032). Optional nu is written once at line-end (1049).

The papyrus offers a new solution to the familiar problem at the end of 1043 and further new variants at 1025 (largely lost), 1029, 1048, and 1049 (corrupt).

Parts of 1042–6 and 1050 are given by **5421**. The lines of this column are not otherwise known from papyri.

1020   Π ερϲ]ηιδοϲ [ορ]για κου[ρηϲ]

            ] ϲυν α̣[ν]δρ̣αϲιν̣ α̣[λλο]δ̣απο̣ι̣[ϲι]

         ϲτυγ]ερον [δε με τάρβοϲ επει]ϲ̣[ε

        μνη]ϲαϲθ̣α̣ι̣ ο̣τ᾿ ηλι̣[τον ουδε τιϲ αλλη]

       εη]ν̣ ε̣[τι μ]ο̣ι̣ μιτρη μενει ω[ϲ] εν[ι

1025   ] ̣ϲ ἀχραν[το]ϲ και α̣κηρατοϲ· αλλ᾿ ελ[εαιρε]

         ] τεον τε π[οϲι]ν̣ μειλιϲϲεο· ϲὸι δ᾿ οπάϲειαν

     [αθανατ]οι βιοτόν τ[ε τ]ελεϲφορον αγλαΐην τε

       παιδ]αϲ και κῦδ̣[οϲ] α̣πορθήτοιο πολη̣οϲ ·

        μ]ε̣[ν] Α̣ρήτην̣ [γ]ουναζετο δακρυοεϲϲα ·

1030   αρ]ιϲτή̣ων ε̣ναμοιβαδιϲ ανδρα ἑκαϲτον ·

          ] περ̣[ι δη] μέγ̣[α] φ̣ερτατοι αμφι τ᾿ αεθλοιϲ

          ] υμετ̣[εροι]ϲ̣[ι]ν ατύζομαι ηιϲ ιοτητι

           κ]α̣[ι ε̣]κ θεροϲ ο̣υ̣λ̣[ο]ο̣[ν] α̣νδ̣[ρων]

       γηγενεω]ν̣ ηϲ ἑινεκεν̣ Α[ιμ]ον[ιη]ν̣δε

1035   κ]ωαϲ α̣νάξετε νοϲτηϲ[αντεϲ]

          τ]ε̣ κ̣α̣ι ο̣υϲ ωλε[ϲ]ϲα τοκηαϲ

        ϲυμπα]ϲαν̣ ευφροϲυνην βιοτοιο ·

        πατρη]ν̣ και δωματα ναιεμεν αυτιϲ

       γλυκερ]ο̣ιϲιν ετ ειϲο̣ψεϲθε τοκῆαϲ

1040 [ομμαϲι]ν̣ [αυταρ ε̣]μοι απο̣ δη βαρὺϲ ἑιλετο δαιμ̣ω̣[ν]

          ϲ]τυ[γ]ε̣ρη̣ δε θ̣υν οθνειοιϲ αλάλημαι

          ϲ]υν̣[θε̣]ϲ̣ι̣α̣ϲ̣ τε κ̣α̣ι ορκια· δειϲατ Ερινυν

          ] ν̣εμεϲ̣ι̣ν̣ τε θεων· εϲ χειραϲ ⟦ἀ̇γ⟧ουϲαν

          ] λωβηι πολυπημονι δηϊωθηναι ·

1045   ] ο̣υ πυ̣ργον επίρροθο̣ν̣ ουκ αλεωρην

           ] δε π̣ρο̣τιβάλλομα̣ι̣ υμεαϲ αυτουϲ ·

       α]τροπιη̣[ϲ] και ανηλεεϲ· ουδ ενι θυμωι

       ξ]ε̣[ιν]η̣ϲ επι γουνα̣ϲι χ̣ειρα̣ϲ αναϲϲηϲ

    [δερκομεν]ο̣[ι] τεινου̣ϲαν̣ αμη̣χανο̣ν̣ αλλα γε παϲιν

1050   ελει]ν̣ μ̣[εμ]αωτεϲ εμιξατ̣ε̣ δ̣ουρατα Κόλχοιϲ

1025] ̣ ϲ. The initial trace is the lower right-hand arc of a circle. The other copies have δώμαϲιν. 'E.g. παρθεν]ο̣ϲ for παρθένιοϲ (Epigr. Gr. 319.3 παρθένον … μίτρην) with ἐνὶ πατρόϲ in the previous line for "in my father's house" as e.g. at 1004 ἑοῦ ἐϲ πατρόϲ? But the specification "maidenly" is not needed, and the word order seems unnatural. If rightly restored, the word may have come in from an explanation (cf. the supralinear gloss in L at 1024, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι παρθένοϲ εἰμί)' (WBH).

1026 τε rightly with *m*: δὲ *w*.

1029 δακρυοεϲϲα. The other witnesses give δάκρυ χέουϲα. Apollonius has δακρυόειϲ at 1.535 and 4.1277 and δακρυόειν at 4.1291, and δάκρυ χέουϲα at the end of the line at 1.250 (hardly δακρυχέουϲα, as printed by Vian: see West, *Il.* praef. p. xxviii). 'δάκρυ χέουϲα (χέοντεϲ, etc.) is a familiar Homeric line-end (*Il.* 1.413, etc.) and the usual reading is likely to be an example of "the straightforward substitution of the ordinary Homeric phrase for the Apollonian variation of it" (Haslam 55). Apollonius similarly changes the Homeric (*Il.* 1.357, *Od.* 24.438) ὣϲ φάτο δάκρυ χέων to ὣϲ φάτο δακρυόειϲ at 4.1277 (so removing the breach of Meyer's Second Law)' (WBH).

1030 ἐναμοιβαδιϲ: ἔν' ἀμοιβαδὶϲ L²ˢˡ *w* (adopted in the form ἐναμοιβαδίϲ by Brunck, followed by Vian): ἀμ- L (and *Ω*): ἔτ' ἀμ- A: ἐπαμ- E. ν is an abraded trace at letter-top level, perhaps the top of an upright: π is not excluded, but there is too much ink for the crossbar of τ.

1032 ηιϲ: l. ἧϲ. A hole above the iota will have swallowed up any expunction dot.

1036 ωλε[ϲ]ϲα rightly with *w d*: ὤλεϲα *m*.

1039 γλυκερ]ο̣ιϲιν ετ. A thin steeply descending oblique between the tops of ν and ε perhaps serves to mark the word-boundary (cf. *GMAW*² p. 11), if it is significant, but for surplus ink, cf. below on 1047.

ειϲο̣ψεϲθε rightly with *w*: ἐϲοψ- L: ὀϲοψ- A: ἐποψ- E, omitting ἔτ'.

1041 θ̣υν: l. ϲύν. There is no ink preserved on the right below the crossbar, but it may have been lost to abrasion. If θ is correctly read, it will no doubt be due to anticipation of οθν-: cf. e.g. J. Diggle, *Euripidea* (1994) 469–70.

1042 Ερινυν. S Gᵖᶜ E have -νν-. For manuscript evidence for the spelling, cf. Vian i p. lxxiii.

1043 **5421** apparently has Ε̣ικ[εϲιην at the start, but **5428** had [Ικεϲιην] correctly spelt to judge by the spacing.

εϲ with *w* E: εἰϲ L A. Vian adopts the latter, but elsewhere in this phrase he prints ἐϲ and records no manuscript variation (2.1167, 4.415).

⟦αγ⟧`ι´ουϲαν: ἰοῦϲαν *Ω* *Σ*ᴼ ᴶ ᵖᵃʳ. The familiar reading ἰοῦϲαν gives the wrong sense, as has long been observed; Vian adopts Wilamowitz's ἰούϲηϲ. The reading of the papyrus before correction, ἄγουϲαν, restores a familiar phrase, 'leading (me) into the hands of Aeetes': cf. e.g. [Hes.] *Sc.* 107 ϲὰϲ ἐϲ χεῖραϲ ἄγουϲιν, Q. S. 12.263 φίλαϲ ἐϲ χεῖραϲ ἄγουϲιν (also at line-end). If it is correct, Medea is presenting her current predicament as the result of divine resentment occasioned by the murder of Apsyrtus while warning the Argonauts that they will themselves experience the same resentment if they reject her pleas.

1044 δηϊωθηναι. δηι- scans as a single long syllable, but this use of the diaeresis is familiar: cf. A. Rzach, *Grammatische Studien zu Apollonios Rhodios* (1878) 42–3.

1047 There is surplus ink above ανηλεεϲ· ουδ, perhaps offsets.

1048 μ' stands after ξείνηϲ in other copies. It usefully clarifies the structure and should probably be kept.

γουνα̣ϲ̣ι̣ seems the likeliest interpretation, though the ending is far from clear. This is the reading of L²ˢˡ A *w*, adopted by Vian: L E have γούνατα.

1049 γε for κε, the true reading, found in Sᵖᶜ: καὶ *Ω*. We find the same corruption at 1057 (κε *m*: γε S Gˢˡ, om. G). For the common confusion of γ and κ, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 76–7.

S. SLATTERY

5429. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.1300–1310

46 5B.49/H(1–7)a   6.2 × 6.6 cm   First half of second century

Line-beginnings of one column and two traces from the previous column, with an intercolumnium of *c.* 0.9 cm. The traces of col. i are too exiguous to place. The papyrus is punctured by several small holes, and its sides are irregularly broken. The writing runs across the fibres on the back of the roll. On the front, running in the same direction, a text of uncertain character written in cursive along the fibres, with a blank space at the top about 3.2 cm deep.

The hand is fairly small, upright, and roughly bilinear. Though informal, it is regular and elegant. α is occasionally angular and very large (e.g. 1307, 1309). The central stroke of ϵ is high, sometimes almost touching the tip of the cap. η has a high crossbar and slightly arched second upright. μ is well-rounded, with a deep central stroke and curved outer strokes. υ is written in both one (e.g. 1305) and two (e.g. 1306) movements. There is a close resemblance to the hand of Roberts, *GLH* 14*b* (V **841** fr. 128), which is written on the back of a document of the late first century. Other objectively datable texts in similar hands are listed in LXXI **4811** introd.

The text is generously supplied with accents, including a grave at 1303, and exhibits two rough breathings in Turner's form 1 and a middle stop at the end of the verse. In three cases, the accents signal enclitics (1305 *bis*, 1308). At least some of these signs are in a lighter ink, which suggests that they were added after the copying of the text. Elision is effected but apparently not marked (1310 n.). At 1308, above ἐλεηραν, the letters of a variant reading are inserted above the line between pairs of dots. This addition is attributable to a second hand: α joins ι at the top rather than at the foot as in the main text.

Line 1308 presents two alternative readings that found their way into the medieval tradition. Fränkel had suspected that these variants were present in the medieval manuscripts' archetype. The papyrus confirms that they were ancient variants already competing in the same papyrus in the second century.

The text does not overlap any previously published papyri, but partly coincides with **5421** at 1304–10.

Col. i   Col. ii

                    .   .   .   .   .   .

1300   [η] ọτε̣ [κ]ạ[λα

        κυκνοι κινης ̣[

        ἑρϲήεις βρεμετ[αι

.   .   ωϲ αι επ[ι] ξạνθὰ[ϲ

]̣.   παννύχιαι ελεε[ινον

.   .   1305 κ̣άι νύ κεν αυτοῦ πα[ντεϲ

        νώνυμνọι και ạφαντο[ι

        [η]ρωων οι ἁριστοι ανη[νυϲτωι

        [αλλ]ά̣ ϲφεα[ϲ] ε̣λ̣έ̣η̣ρα̣ν̣ [·αι··ο·

        [ηρωϲ]ϲαι Λιβυης τ̣[ιμηοροι

1310   [ημο]ϲ ὅτ εκ πατ̣[ροϲ

                    .   .   .   .   .   .

Col. i
        The first trace is the end of a horizontal or lower arc. The second is an upright apparently joined from the left at the foot (*ν*?).

Col. ii
        1301 κινης ̣[: *κινήϲουϲιν m*: *κινήϲωϲιν w* D. The trace after ϲ, level with the letter-tops, is too minute to indicate with certainty whether ο or ω was written. I incline towards ω, because the ascending oblique or portion of an arc does not seem to continue in a loop, though this could be due to abrasion. If it did continue in a loop, ο would protrude slightly above the letter-top level, which it does not do elsewhere. But the point cannot be pressed. On the problem, see Vian's comments (including the 'note additionnelle' on p. 218). He adopts *κινήϲουϲιν* as a Homeric rarity and explains it as a 'type de subj. à voyelle brève disparu de notre vulgate … *w* a normalisé la morphologie'. *κινήϲωϲιν*, however, could also have easily changed into *κινήϲουϲιν* through the influence of *κλάζουϲι* in the first part of the simile (1299).
        1306 νώνυμνọι. See the note on this line in **5421**.
        1308 ε̣λ̣έ̣η̣ρα̣ν̣: *ἐλέηραν m* (-έειρ- A, -αίηρ- E): *ἐλέαιρον w*. **5421** fr. 44 breaks off after ελ[. The imperfect is used at 4.738 *ἐλέαιρεν* and 1422 *ἐλέαιρον*; the latter was emended to *ἐλέηραν* by Brunck on the analogy of 1308. Fränkel suggested in his apparatus that the postulated archetype of the medieval manuscripts contained the reading *ἐλέηραν* with .αι. and .ο. written above. **5429** now reveals these same variants competing even earlier just as Fränkel suggested, that is, with the variant letters above the line placed between dots. Editors have preferred *ἐλέηραν* as the *lectio difficilior*, treating it as an Apollonian linguistic innovation; see Livrea ad loc. The aorist *ἐλέηρα* is not attested again until Late Antiquity.[1]

_____

        [1] Cf. also SB I 2134.10 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (1969) no. 76 ii 6 (Alexandria; Imperial period); corrected to *ἐλέηϲαν* by W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* i (1955–7) no. 2028a, but conjecturally rather than on the basis of the stone, which is now lost.

1309 [ηρως]ϲαι. See the note on this line in **5421**. The initial trace, the end of a horizontal touching α at two-thirds height, can only represent ϲ in this context, excluding ἡρωῖναι. The preserved parts of the papyrus do not show whether the scribe regularly wrote iota adscript, but as there is only room for four letters in the lacuna at the start, it was probably not present here.

1310 ὅτ. Above the right-hand end of the tau, a faint discoloration may suggest the shape of an apostrophe, but it is not certainly ink.

A. BENAISSA

5430. Title Tag: Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 2

88/102(a)   8.4 × 2.6 cm   Third century
                                                             Plate 000

A scrap constituting most of a title tag. The back is blank. The original upper and lower edges are partly preserved, and the straight left-hand edge of the lower half may also be original. The text is written across the fibres, as often: cf. P. Oxy. inv. 5 1B.44/G(b), II **301**, XLVII **3318**, LXXII **4853**, and P. Schøyen II 29 (documentary). For a general treatment of title tags, cf. M. Caroli, *Il titolo iniziale nel rotolo librario greco-egizio* (2007) 28–52; the first three texts are P12, P10, and P8 in his catalogue. See also G. W. Houston, *Inside Roman Libraries* (2014) 9–10.

The hand is an informal version of the Severe Style, slanting slightly to the right. Letters sometimes touch: note δι in 2, with δ open on the right and its right-hand oblique raised to join ι at the top. The descender of ρ curls leftwards in 2 and ends in a blob in 3. υ may be v-shaped (1) or looped at the base (3). ω is flat in the middle or nearly so. The component strokes of letters may not be correctly joined: cf. in 3 τ with a gap below the crossbar and ω with its right-hand side detached. Such a hand could be assigned to the third century; cf. II **223** (Roberts, *GLH* 21*a*) + P. Köln V 210 (early III) and e.g. PSI X 1169 (III, assigned).

Titles of books of the poem are given by two other papyri, **5431** below and XXXIV **2699** + **5424** (IV), which includes the remains of the initial title of Book 3 (P22 in Caroli's catalogue).

.̣ [. .]λλωνιου	Ἀ[πο]λλωνίου
ροδιων	Ῥοδίων
αργοναυτικων β̄	Ἀργοναυτικῶν β̄

2 Ῥοδίων: l. Ῥοδίου. The scribe has assimilated the termination to that of Ἀργοναυτικῶν in the following line. **5431** below is now the earliest extant witness to identify Apollonius solely by the ethnic 'Rhodian', without any reference being made to Alexandria; cf. also P. Berol. 8439 i 4 (BKT III p. 28) Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ὁ Ῥόδιο(ς), assigned to the second century. The list of Alexandrian librarians in X **1241** ii 1–2 (II) refers to him as Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ὁ [κ]αλούμενος Ῥόδιος. There is no indication, however, that there was ever anything other than 'Rhodian' in his book titles; cf. *Vita* 1 διὸ καὶ Ῥόδιον ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἀναγράφει. On the unclear origin of the ethnic, see A. Rengakos, *WS* 105 (1992) 50–55, and

M. R. Lefkowitz in T. D. Papanghelis and A. Rengakos (edd.), *Brill's Companion to Apollonius Rhodius* (²2008) 57–61.

<div align="right">

E. F. ROSSETTI

</div>

<div align="center">

5431. Title Tag (?): Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* [.]

</div>

115/8(b)	2.2 × 4.5 cm	First century BC/first century AD?
		Plate 000

Remains of a book title written along the fibres; the back is blank. It is not clear whether the fragment belongs to a roll or to a tag attached to a roll, like **5430**. The only ornamental lines clearly visible are those above and below the last letter of the poet's ethnic; unlike those of **5409**, they are horizontal (cf. e.g. III **412**, V **843**, XXIV **2392**, XLV **3209** fr. 1, LII **3649**, LXIX **4715**).

The text is written in an informal but careful round hand resembling that of XXXIV **2691** + **5426**. The letters of the third line are somewhat smaller than those of the first two. υ is looped at the base, and its right arm is longer and flatter than its left arm at line-end (2).

<div style="display:flex; justify-content:space-around;">
<div>

```
      .    .
] . λων . [
]ιου̅   [
]αυτικ . [
 ] . [
      .    .
```

</div>
<div>

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   .    .    .
Ἀπο]λλωνί[ου
 Ῥοδ]ίου̅
Ἀργον]αυτικῶ[ν
        ] . [
   .    .    .
```

</div>
</div>

2 Ῥοδ]ίου. Cf. **5430** 2 n.

3–4 A speck above ω in 3 and another in 4 probably belong to ornamental dashes above the last letter of the poem's title and the book number in the next line, which is lost.

<div align="right">

E. E. PRODI

</div>

IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

5432. Demotic Sale of Part of a House with Greek Tax Receipt

102/178 + 179   37.3 × 26.5 cm   13/14

Plate 000

The top of this document preserves three lines of a Demotic contract incomplete on both sides, with an upper margin of 5.5 cm. A short fourth line may have stood in the missing right-hand part of the papyrus. About 6 cm down from the Demotic text and 6 cm from the left-hand edge, the beginnings and discontinuous parts of six lines of a Greek tax receipt survive. An asterisk marks its beginning and a paragraphus its end. The gaps between the fragments of the Greek text are quite large as a result of the damage to the lower part of the papyrus. The margin below the Greek receipt is *c.* 8 cm deep. The writing runs along the fibres, and the back is blank. The Demotic text is written with a reed pen, as is usual for notary documents of the Roman period.

This sale of house property is the first such Demotic contract from Oxyrhynchus to be published. Because of the very incomplete state of both the Demotic and Greek texts, the details of the transaction are uncertain. The sellers and buyers each formed a pair; the sellers at least were brothers. Parts of their names—all Greek—are preserved in the receipt. The object of the sale was at least the fourth part of a two-storey house near the Serapeum. The Greek receipt from the state bank is for the payment of the property transfer tax ($\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\kappa\lambda\iota o\nu$), which usually amounted to 10% of the price. The sales price and the tax amount are not preserved, only a surcharge of 10 drachmas on the tax payment.

Demotic sales contracts of the Roman period from the Fayum typically consist of three parts, a sale document (*sẖ n ḏbꜣ ḥḏ*), a cession document (*sẖ n wy*), and a Greek summary subscription ($\dot{\upsilon}\pi o\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$); see e.g. S. L. Lippert and M. Schentuleit, P. Dime III pp. 4–5, 11–13. Although the clauses preserved in the Demotic part of **5432** can also be found in a cession document (cf. P. Dime III pp. 13–40, CPR XXIX p. 7, P. Schreibertrad. pp. 113–56), most texts that are accompanied by a property transfer tax receipt are sale documents: e.g. P. Adl. Gr. 3, 9, 13, P. Adl. Dem. 2, P. Grenf. II 34 (Pathyrite nome), P. Ashm. 14–15 (Haueris, Ars.), 25, P. Brit. Mus. IV 28 (Thebes), P. Chic. Haw. 7A–C (Haueris), P. Ryl. Dem. 15 (Hermonthis), all from the Ptolemaic period. The appendage of a tax receipt to a sale is rarer in the Roman period, but other, purely Greek examples of this practice include I **99** 13–19 (55) and XXXIV **2720** 1–9 (41–54), 'a Ptolemaic survival' according to the editor; in the latter document, the receipt precedes the contract. For a separate receipt for the *enkyklion* based on a sale $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$] $Ai\gamma(\upsilon\pi\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha c)$ $c\upsilon\nu\gamma\rho(\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}c)$, cf. XLIX **3461** (46 BC), which relates to a property in a village of the nome.

The broad layout of the complete document, with a height-to-width ratio of 1:≥3 and wide upper and lower margins, suggests that the sale was not accompanied by a cession written on the same roll. There are a few examples from the Roman period of Demotic sale contracts

lacking a cession on the same sheet of papyrus, such as P. Mich. V 253 (30) and 308 (1) from Tebtynis. The same is possibly true of PSI VIII 909 (Tebtynis; 44) and P. Eleph. Dem. 13 (2 BC), but these texts are not preserved complete. Some Demotic sale contracts, e.g. P. Dime III 32 (see p. 389), also lack a Greek subscription, although it is unclear whether these documents would have been officially recognized; for other contracts without ὑπογραφαί, cf. M. Depauw, *CE* 78 (2003) 104 n. 236. The present document may have carried a subscription in a lost portion of the papyrus.

Winkler is responsible for the edition of the Demotic contract, Benaissa for the edition of the Greek receipt; both collaborated on the introduction. We are grateful to Prof. Mark Depauw and Dr Sandra Lippert for helpful comments on an earlier draft.

A1 [- - -] 1 ¼ ⸢⅛ ¹⁄₁₆⸣ *ỉrm* ⸢*mḥ*⸣-*n-nṯr n ḫty.t* 2 ½ *r bꜣk* 2 ½ ¼ ⅛ *ỉrm mḥ-nṯr n ḫty.t* ⸢5⸣ ꜥ*n n-gꜣ pꜣ nty-ỉw*⸢=w⸣ *ỉr=f nty tꜣ dny.t* ¼ *r.dỉ=n n=tn r-ḏbꜣ ḥḏ* (*ḥnꜥ*) *nty-nb* ⸢*nty-ỉw*⸣ [*ḥn=f* - - -]

[- - -] *sꜣ Ḏd-wn* ⸢*ỉmnṱ pꜣ*⸣ ꜥ.*wy n Ḏd-wn sꜣ Ḏd-wn-Pꜣ-Šy n pr-mḥṱ ḥnꜥ pꜣ mꜣꜥ n Ḏd-wn pꜣ ỉqd m-sꜣ=f ḥnꜥ nꜣy=tn ky.w mꜣꜥ.w m-*⸢*sꜣ*⸣[*=f* - - -]

[- - - *mtw=tn sḫ nb*] *r.ỉr=w r-r=s ḥnꜥ sḫ nb r.ỉr=w n=n r-r=s ḥnꜥ sḫ nb nty-ỉw*[*=n*] *mꜣꜥ.k n.ỉm=w n-rn=s mtw=tn st ḥnꜥ pꜣy=w hp mtw=tn pꜣ nty*⟨-*ỉw=n*⟩ *mꜣꜥ.k n.ỉm=w n rn=s* ⸢traces⸣ [- - -]

vac.

B1 ✖ ἔτους μγ Καίϲαροϲ [*month day,* διὰ] τῆϲ ἐν Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει τ[ραπέζηϲ ἐφ'] ἧϲ Ἀχιλλεὺϲ κα[ὶ μέτοχοι. τέτακται ἐγκυκλί]ου Ϲαραπίων [- - - τοῦ ὑπάρχοντοϲ]

τοῖϲ διατι[θεμένοιϲ   *c.* 10   ]ιτων ὅλων τε[τάρτου μέρουϲ οἰκίαϲ] διϲτέγου .[*c.* 22   ] ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ βο[ρρᾶ μέρουϲ - - - πηχῶν]

ε̄ ἢ ὅϲων ἐὰν ὦϲ[ιν   *c.* 10   ]μένου τεταρτ[*c.* 15   ἐν τῷ ἀ]πὸ λιβὸϲ μ[έρει   *c.* 20   ]οτον πρ[- - -]

ἑτέρωι τῶν ὅλων [*c.* 8   καὶ τ]ῶν εἰϲ τα(ῦτα) εἰϲόδ(ων) καὶ ἐξόδ(ων) [καὶ τῶν ϲυγκυρ(όντων), τῶν ὄν]των ἐπὶ τοῦ [πρὸϲ Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει Ϲαραπ]ιείου ἐν [- - - ὧν ἐπρίαντο παρὰ - - -]

B5 ωνοϲ καὶ Π[τ]ολεμαίου [ἀμφοτέρων υἱ]ῶν Θέωνοϲ, ὁ μὲν Ϲαρ[απίων   *c.* 10   ] . . . ον, ὁ δὲ [*c.* 24   ] . κατ' ἀγ[ορανομικὸν χρηματιϲμὸν - - -]

ἐπιδεκάτου οἱ αὐτο[ὶ] ϲὺν κ[αταγω(γίῳ)] (δραχμὰϲ) δέκα, (γίνονται) ϲ(ὺν) κα(ταγωγίῳ) (δραχμαὶ) ι.

B4 τᾱεϲδ̅καιεξδ̅   B6 〵, /c̅κ̅〵ι

A

'[…] 1 ¼ ⅛ ¹⁄₁₆ together with 2 ½ (additional) divine square cubits, still makes a platform of 2 ½ ¼ ⅛ together with 5 (additional) square cubits or whatever they amount to, which the quarter share that we have sold to you together with all that is [in it …] son of Thonis; west: the house of Thonis, son of Thonis-Psois, to the north, and the place of Thonis the builder after it, and your other places after [it … yours is every document] which has been made concerning it and every document which was made for us concerning it and every document through which [we] are entitled to it. They are yours with every legal right. Yours is that through which (we are) entitled to it […]'

B

'Year 43 of Caesar (*month, day*), through the bank in the city of Oxyrhynchi of which Achilles and associates are head. Sarapion … and N.N. … have paid for the *enkyklion* tax … on the fourth part of a two-storey house belonging to those disposing of it … of the whole … from the northern part … 5 cubits or however many there are … fourth … in the western part … with another … of the whole … and the entrances and exits to these and (all) the appurtenances, which are next to the temple of Sarapis in the city of Oxyrhynchi in … which they bought from —on and Ptolemaeus, both sons of Theon, Sarapion on the one hand … , N.N. on the other …, by a transaction before the agoranomi … (for) the one-tenth surcharge the same men (paid) with transport charge ten drachmas, total with transport charge 10 dr.'

A1 The first line would have contained the dating protocol, the identification of the two parties, a declaration by the seller that he has received the price for the property sold, and a description of the property; cf. J. G. Manning in J. G. Keenan, J. G. Manning, and U. Yiftach-Firanko (edd.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (2014) 55. The preserved section must correspond to the end of the description. It is probable that the house on sale was described as built and equipped prior to the right-hand break (cf. e.g. P. Dime III pp. 15–16). The preserved part until ꜥn specifies the measurements of some kind of edifice (bꜣk) and a small plot of land that were connected to the house. The measurements are given according to the formula x ir v ir x ꜥn, 'x, ⟨its half⟩ makes v, still makes x'; see e.g. P. Bürgsch. pp. 21–2. It is uncommon for surface measurements to be provided through this triple indication; usually only amounts of money or grain are expressed in this way (cf. P. Dime III p. 15).

1 ¼ ⌜⅛ ¹⁄₁₆⌝. After the fraction ⅛ there is enough space to restore ¹⁄₁₆. Two faded short slanting strokes are visible in the upper part of the line, indicating a fraction (cf. Erichsen, *Glossar* 705). See Spiegelberg, *Gramm.* 51 (§§ 93–4), for the construction of Demotic fractions. 1 ¼ ⅛ ¹⁄₁₆ (1.4375) is half of 2 ½ ¼ ⅛ (2.875), encountered later in the line.

⌜mḥ⌝-n-nṯr n ḫty.t. The expression appears to be a local variant of *mḥ-n-ḫty.t*, the standard square cubit of 0.275 m²; see Pap. Lugd. Bat. XXXIII pp. 208–11, 220–21. It is possible that it should also be restored before the right-hand break, but the unit is not mentioned when the size of the whole area is stated later in the line.

bꜣk, 'platform', can refer to various kinds of construction; see F. Hoffmann, MPER N.S. XXVI p. 332 n. 1928; G. Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9* (1998) 470. In relation to a house, it appears to designate either a bench (a so-called *mastaba*), a porch, or a ramp leading up to the entrance door; cf. G. Husson, *OIKIA* (1983) 68–70. 2.875 square cubits = *c.* 0.80 square metres.

n-gꜣ pꜣ nty-iw⌜꞊w⌝ ir꞊f, 'or whatever they amount to', is the Demotic equivalent of the Greek formula ἢ ὅϲων ἐὰν ὦϲιν (B3). Although the third person plural suffix pronoun ⌜꞊w⌝ is largely lost, traces of the vertical stroke can be spotted above and below the crease in the papyrus.

nty-iw tꜣ dny.t ¼ r.di꞊n n꞊tn r-ḏbꜣ ḥḏ …, 'which the quarter share that we have sold to you …', lacks a predicate. The phrase can be understood in two ways. The first option is to interpret it as an adap-

tation of the formula X *nty-iw tꜣ dny.t* ⅛ *nty ḥry ḫn=f*, 'X in which the abovementioned ⅛ part is', often found in sales from Soknopaiou Nesos when part of a property is sold (P. Dime III p. 18). This would imply that the expected prepositional phrase *ḫn=f* is missing after *ḥḏ*, and that *nty ḥry* of the Fayumic texts was replaced by the cash sale clause *r.di=n n=tn r-ḏbꜣ ḥḏ*, which normally follows the description of the neighbours (P. Dime III pp. 21–21). The second option is to amend the construction to *nty ir tꜣ dny.t* ¼ …, 'which constitutes the ¼ part …' (cf. P. Dime III p. 15). If so, the area of the extra plot including the *bꜣk* constitutes a quarter of the complete surface. The area of the *bꜣk* is given as 2.875 square cubits = *c.* 0.80 square metres, so that the whole structure would have measured 11½ square cubits or about 3.2 square metres, while the other area, of which ¼ was 5 divine square cubits, would correspond to roughly 5.5 square metres.

r-ḏbꜣ ḥḏ. Note that *ḥḏ*, 'money, silver', is written in ligature with *ḏbꜣ*, 'exchange', as indicated by the stroke below the last twirl of the ligature.

nty-nb ⌜*nty-iw*⌝ [*ḫn=f*, 'with all that is in it', is the Demotic equivalent of τὰ cυγκύροντα (πάντα), a version of which is found in the Greek receipt (B4 n.). The formula is found in this form in Roman Soknopaiou Nesos (e.g. P. Dime III p. 16; P. Zauzich 13.7 n.) and a variant of it in Ptolemaic Thebes (e.g. P. Recueil 2.97–8; P. Choach. Survey p. 408). For other Demotic phrases corresponding to the same Greek expression, see PSI XVII 1715.6 n.

A2 The preserved part of this line belongs to the so-called specification of neighbours (Manning in *Law and Legal Practice* 55; P. Dime III pp. 18–19), which describes the location of the property sold in relation to surrounding properties. The preserved portion covers at least three individual plots or buildings on the west.

Ḏḏ-wn. This Egyptian name (*NB Dem.* 1360), rendered in Greek as Θῶνιc, is common in the Oxyrhynchite nome; see M. Chauveau, *BIFAO* 90 (1990) 142 n. f (but cf. *BL Dem.* II 813). For the god behind the personal name, see J. L. Pätznick, *Cahiers caribéens d'égyptologie* 18 (2014) 61–76, esp. 64–6, and H.-J. Thissen in M. C. Flossmann-Schütze et al. (edd.), *Kleine Götter – Große Götter: Festschrift für Dieter Kessler zum 65. Geburtstag* (2013) 495–501.

imnṯ, 'west'. Although the reading is tentative, this interpretation of the preserved ink traces is more palatable than any other cardinal direction. Remains of the geographical determinative are clearly visible. The usual order in which neighbouring properties are enumerated in Greek documents from Oxyrhynchus is S–N–E–W, although E and W are occasionally reversed; cf. e.g. P. Dubl. 3 fr. 1+2.13–16 (14/15), P. Fouad 44.30–31 (44), XXXIV **2720** 18–20 (41–54), P. Oslo II 40.40–41 (150). If this order was followed here, at least two (S N) and possibly all three other positions (S N E) will have preceded the description of the western neighbours.

Ḏḏ-wn sꜣ Ḏḏ-wn-Pꜣ-Šy. It is not entirely clear whether the first western neighbour Thonis has a papponymic (the filiation marker is not always provided), the patronymic consists of a double name, or there were two owners of the property. But it is most probable that *Pꜣ-šy* (*NB Dem.* 220; J. Quaegebeur, *Le dieu égyptien Shaï* (1975) 191–200) is the second element of a double name, Thonis-Psois. See Y. Broux, *Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt* (2015) 6–9, 160, for such names in Egyptian.

n pr-mḥṯ, 'to the north'. Since the western side adjoined several neighbours, the scribe used this collocation to indicate that the enumeration moved from north to south. The enumeration is further articulated with the phrase *m-sꜣ=f*, 'after it'.

m-⌜*sꜣ*⌝[*=f*. The restored third person suffix pronoun *=f* refers back to the plot owned by the builder Thonis.

A3 The formula preserved in this line corresponds to the 'document clause' found in the standard guarantee declaration of the seller (P. Dime III p. 31–33).

sḫ nb nty-iw[⸗n] mꜣꜥ.k n.im⸗w n-rn⸗s, 'every document through which we are entitled to it'. On this phrase, see P. Schreibertrad. pp. 143–5. *n.im⸗w* refers to the documents, the suffix in *n-rn⸗s* to the acquired object, i.e. the one-fourth part (*dny.t*). This implies that *n.im⸗w* in *mtw⸗tn pꜣ nty⟨-iw⸗n⟩ mꜣꜥ.k n.im⸗w n rn⸗s*, 'yours is that through which we are entitled to it', should be read as *n.im⸗f*.

There are some faint traces after the final *n-rn⸗s*. Though the lack of parallels from Oxyrhynchus prevents us from reaching firm conclusions, the only sequence that may be missing is an oath and a confirmation that the seller is willing to fulfil all the obligations of the contract; cf. P. Dime III pp. 33–7; P. Schreibertrad. pp. 132–3. Alternatively, this may be the beginning of a scribal and notarial signature. While the practice of signing the document had disappeared for instance at Soknopaiou Nesos by AD 11 (P. Dime III p. 10), it could have persisted in other localities. In Tebtynis, Demotic documents could still sometimes be subscribed by the notary and the scribe after the above date, e.g. P. Ehevertr. 12D.10 = P. Mich. V 347 (21), PSI XVII 1715.9–10 (37).

B1 τ[ραπέζης ἐφ'] ἧς Ἀχιλλεύς. Not otherwise attested.

τέτακται ἐγκυκλί]ου Cαραπίων [. For the restoration, cf. II **242** 31–2 (77) τέτακται τῇ ιγ το(ῦ) Χο(ιακ) ἐνκ(υκλίου) Ἀρθόωνις κτλ., **243** 46 (79) τέτακ(ται) τῇ κη τοῦ Φαμε(νωθ) ἐνκ(υκλίου) Δίδυμος κτλ. Unlike the present receipt, these subscriptions do not contain a separate dating clause, whence the inclusion of the month and day. τ]οῦ Cαραπίων[ος is not a possible supplement: the article would imply that this is the grandfather's name, which would leave too little space beforehand for the names of the buyer and his father, even if μέτοχοι and τέτακται were abbreviated. B5 seems to confirm that the name of the first buyer was Cαραπίων. On the *enkyklion*, see F. Reiter, *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites* (2004) 216–28 (with further bibliography).

The rest of the line would have contained the name of the father of the first buyer and the identification of the second buyer. The lacuna would be shorter if the two buyers were brothers, like the sellers in B4–5.

B3 ε̄ ἢ ὅcων ἐὰν ὦc[ιν *c.* 10]μένου τεταρτ[. These remains seem to mirror A1 *n-gꜣ pꜣ nty-iw⸢⸗w⸣ ir⸗f*, 'or whatever they amount to'. Restore e.g. τοῦ προκει]μένου τετάρτ[ου μέρους.

]οτον: πρὸς ν]ότον?

B4 [καὶ τῶν cυγκυρ(όντων), τῶν ὄν]των. I assume that the participle was abbreviated in the lacuna, as the restoration would otherwise be 4–5 letters too long. An alternative supplement is [καὶ τῶν cυγκυρόντων πάν]των, especially in view of the Demotic parallel formula *nty-nb ⸢nty-iw⸣ [ḥn⸗s* (A1), 'all that is in it', but the Greek phrase is not certainly attested in Oxyrhynchite documents before the third century. XLIX **3461** 9–10 (46 BC) is restored as καὶ τῶν cυ⟨γ⟩κυρόντων [πάντων] | ὄντων, but [τῶν] would suffice for the lacuna at the end of 9. The specification τῶν ὄντων or τοῦ ὄντος before the same topographical designation is well paralleled in the early Roman period (**99** 6, 16, II **254** 4).

τῶν ὄν]των ἐπὶ τοῦ [πρὸς Ὀξυρύγχων πόλει Cαραπ]ιείου ἐν [. This is the commonest location in Oxyrhynchite contracts relating to property, indicating that the house was situated in the centre of Oxyrhynchus. There were up to five quarters associated with this temple, which must have formed the nucleus of the city; cf. Daris, *Diz. geogr.* Suppl. 3 p. 114.

B4–5]|ωνος: e.g. Cαραπί]|ωνος (if so, a different person from the following Cαρ[απίων, who must be one of the buyers, cf. B1).

ὁ μὲν Cαρ[απίων *c.*10] . . . ον, ὁ δέ [. The purport of this distributive phrase is unclear. Perhaps each of the two buyers bought a separate share of the one-fourth part of the house (e.g. one-eighth each), but] . . . ον does not seem to conceal a fraction: the letter before ο is certainly not τ, and ὄ]γδοον would be difficult.

κατ' ἀγ[ορανομικὸν χρηματισμόν. Cf. **99** 19, **2720** 7.

B6 ἐπιδεκάτου. This surcharge on the *enkyklion* is also included in **99** 19 ἐπιδεκα(το) and **2720** 8 ἐπιδεκ [. Its exact nature is unclear; cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Roman Egypt* (1938) 228, 450 n. 91. **2720** 8 n. states that '[h]ere the charge was clearly an agio', but it is not in fact certain that the charge must be connected with the phrase χαλκοῦ πρὸς ἀργύριον that accompanies the sum for the *enkyklion*.

ϲὺν κ[αταγω(γίῳ)] (δραχμὰς) δέκα, (γίνονται) ϲ(ὺν) κα(ταγωγίῳ) (δραχμαὶ) ι. After nu, the foot of an upright; before δέκα, a sinusoidal descender. The restoration and the resolution of the abbreviations are based on **2720** 8–9 ἐπιδεκ [c. 15 κ]αταγωγίωι δραχμαὶ δύο ὀβολὸϲ ἱμιοβέλι[ο]ν [. . .] κ[ατ]αγωγίωι (δραχμαὶ) β (ἡμιωβέλιον), where the dative suggests that ϲύν precedes in both cases. For the phrase ϲὺν καταγωγίῳ in another tax receipt, accompanying payments for the poll-tax, cf. II **288** 9, 18, 26 (22–5); in the last two instances, it is abbreviated ϲὺν κα( ). In **99** 19, the editors read ἐπιδεκα(το) ϲτα( ) (δραχμὰϲ) [. . .], with ϲτα( ) corrected to ϲύ(μ)πα(ντα) by Hunt in BL I 315, but ϲ(ὺν) κα(ταγωγίῳ) should be read, as an inspection of the original in the British Library (inv. 765) confirms. The καταγώγιον was 'a charge for transporting the bulky copper coinage' (**2720** 9 n., with reference to Wallace, *Taxation* 43, 325).

A. BENAISSA / A. WINKLER

5433–52. Declarations and Memorandum of Livestock

This section includes nineteen declarations of sheep and goats (ἀπογραφαὶ προβάτων) dated between AD 19 and 129/30 and a memorandum (ὑπόμνημα) dated to AD 65 (**5442**). Each of the declarations can be assigned to one of the three chronological groups distinguished by S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 168–9; cf. C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 47–8. Eight (**5433–40**) belong to the first period, from the reign of Augustus to the reign of Claudius, during which adult animals only were declared annually around the end of Tybi and the beginning of Mecheir (late January–early February). **5441** (58) falls in the second period, which began at the end of the reign of Claudius. During this time, two declarations were required each year. The first, main declaration was usually made in Mecheir (February), and both adult animals and their offspring were declared, while subsequent offspring were registered in the supplementary declaration, made in Epeiph (July). Finally, the third period, now known to have begun by 84/5 (**5443**), is represented by ten declarations (**5443–52**). In this period, one declaration was made each year, again in Mecheir (February); the number of animals registered in the previous year was given, followed by the number of animals which the owner was declaring for the current year, including offspring.

Seventy-eight declarations of sheep and goats from Roman Egypt have been published so far, dating between 13 BC and AD 238; thirty-seven of them come from the Oxyrhynchite nome. For a list of the texts, see M. Langellotti, *L'allevamento di pecore e capre nell'Egitto romano: aspetti economici e sociali* (2012) 131–53. The main purpose of the declarations was to update the central administration's records of the number of sheep and goats, registered by their 'home' village, and the names of the people responsible for them. The records were used to assess and levy the tax on privately owned animals, called ἐννόμιον (**5450** 6–7) or, more commonly in these texts, τὸ καθῆκον τέλοϲ ('the proper tax'). According to the traditional view, this was a fixed tax whose payment gave the owners the licence to graze their animals on public land

within their nome: see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Roman Egypt* (1938) 86–8; C. Préaux, *L'Écono-mie royale des Lagides* (1939) 225–7. For a new interpretation of the ἐννόμιον as a straight 'poll' tax on sheep and goats, see Langellotti, *L'allevamento* 47–58.

The declarations have a common basic structure in the first period: see e.g. Balconi 39–40. They start with the designation of the addressee in the dative, followed by the name of the declarant, who states that he is registering for the current year his flock consisting of however many sheep and goats it may be (adding the total number of each), along with the accompany-ing lambs and kids (not further specified), and that they will graze around a specified village or hamlet and throughout the whole nome. The shepherd's name is added, along with the name of the village or hamlet where he is registered. Finally, the declarant states that he will pay the proper tax and closes with a farewell. In the subscription, the official responsible notes that he has signed for the specified number of sheep and goats, adding the total, and gives the date. Beginning in the reign of Nero, an oath sworn by the declarant is inserted after the reference to the shepherd (Balconi 44); and the numbers of lambs and kids are now specified, as mentioned above. Sales (**5445** 6 n.), purchases (**5450** 9 n.), and losses (**5443** 12–15 n.) are recorded.

The declarations belonging to the first group are addressed to the strategus (**5435–9**) or toparch (**5434** (?), **5440**), as was common practice. In later periods, declarations could be addressed to the royal scribe (**5441**, **5443**); cf. T. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gau-verwaltung* (2002) i 229–35. LXXI **4822** (3 BC) alone indicates that he could be involved at an earlier period. The declarations published here reveal for the first time that the addressee could also be a tax-collector (πράκτωρ: **5449–51**) or the village scribe (**5452**).

The number of animals declared ranges from 8 (**5444**) to 99 (**5452**); 105 sheep and 5 goats are registered in **5435**, but this is a collective declaration of three separate flocks. While most flocks appear to have been of small or small-to-medium size (8–50), two large flocks are also attested: 75 sheep and 3 goats (**5438**) and 98 sheep and one goat (**5452**). These are unusually large flocks for declarations from the Oxyrhynchite nome, where the average flock included around 20 sheep.

In the earlier declarations, the origin of the declarant is not specified (**5434–41**). In these cases, it seems safe to assume that it was the village in which the flock was registered. Two declarations (**5433–4**) are submitted by the same person, one Theophilus son of Theodosius, who owned some 50 animals and also acted as shepherd. His theophoric name and that of Theodorus son of Dositheus in **5438** suggest that they were Jews; see A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, *Pap. Congr. XXIII* (2007) 518–19, and cf. **5434** 2 n. The declarants' origins are indicated in the declarations of the third group (**5443–4**, **5446–52**), within which we find seven villagers and two *metropolitai* (**5448–9**). Six declarants were women acting through a guardian (**5443**, **5446–7**, **5450–52**), one of whom, Plutarche (**5452**), owned the largest flock documented in this section (99 animals).

The toponyms attested in these declarations are well-known (see generally *RSON²*), ex-cept for the hamlets of Terou in the Upper toparchy (**5433–4**) and Epicratous (**5451**).

Some of the papyri in this section bear inventory numbers which suggest that they were found together. **5435** (21) and **5437** (21) both have inventory numbers beginning with 104/12,

indicating that they were processed at al-Bahnasa on 14 December of an unidentified year; cf. LV **3778** = 38 3B.81/B(12–13)a and **3779** = 38 3B.82/C(3)a, which also date from 20/21 and were packed at around the same point in Grenfell and Hunt's third season's excavations, in the 81st and 82nd of that season's tin boxes. **5448–51** (*c.* 121) have inventory numbers beginning with 27 3B.42/H(6–8), that is, they were packed in the same layer of the 42nd of the third season's tin boxes (see further **5448** introd.). **5433–4** (19–21), **5436** (21), and **5438** (25) are all from what is now box 106, but their folder numbers (127, 8, and 140) are widely separated, and the dates on which they were processed are unknown.

Unless otherwise indicated, the texts in this section are written along the fibres on the front of the papyrus and the back is blank.[1]

M. LANGELLOTTI

5433. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

106/127(b) front   6.4 × 14.9 cm   27 December 18 – 25 January 19

This papyrus preserves on the front the lower part of a declaration of livestock submitted by a certain Theophilus. On the back is another declaration (**5434**), submitted by the same person two years later. The name of Theophilus' father, Theodosius, and his place of registration, the *epoikion* Terou in the Upper toparchy, are preserved in the later declaration. In both documents, Theophilus is described as a shepherd. Over a period of two years, his flock's size appears to have increased by five animals in total. More precisely, the number of sheep went up from 41 to 50, while the number of goats went down from 5 to 1. The middling size of the flock and the role of Theophilus as both owner and shepherd suggest that the declarant was a professional breeder, or at least that pastoralism was an important source of income for him. Flocks of this size (31–60) constitute 23% of all the flocks attested in the surviving Oxyrhynchite declarations of livestock from the first century A much higher percentage (65%) were small (1–30); see Langellotti, *L'allevamento* 85–6.

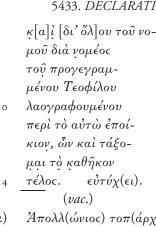The two declarations are written in different hands. The papyrus is broken at the top and on the upper left and lower right sides.

```
        .     .     .     .
    [    c. 8    ] . . [ . . .]
    [ἐρίφ]ους, ἃ νεμή-
    [οντ]αι περὶ τὸ Τή-
    [ρου ἐποί]κιον τῆς
5   [ἄνω τοπ]αρχίας
```

[1] The editions in this section have benefited from comments by A. Benaissa, N. Gonis, W. B. Henry, and G. Messeri.

κ̣[α]ὶ̣ [δι' ὅλ]ου τοῦ νο-
μοῦ διὰ ν̣ομέος
τοῦ προγεγραμ-
μένου Τεοφίλου

10   λαογραφουμένου
περὶ τὸ αὐτὼ ἐποί-
κιον, ὧν καὶ τάξο-
μα̣ι τὸ̣ κ̣αθῆκον

14   τέλος.   εὐτύχ(ει).
           (*vac.*)

(*m. 2*)   Ἀπολλ(ώνιος) τοπ(άρχης) cεc(ημείωμαι) πρ[όβ(ατα)]
        τεccεράκοντα [ἕν, αἶγ(ας)]
        πέντε, (γίνονται) πρ(όβατα) μα̣, [αἶγ(εc) ε.]

        . . .
        (ἔτους) ε Τιβερίου Κα̣[ίcαροc]
20   Cεβαcτοῦ, Τυβ[ι *n.*]

2–6, 8–9, 12 bar-shaped fillers at line-end   7 l. νομέως   9 l. Θεοφίλου   11 l. αὐτό
14 εὐτ̇υ̊   15 απο̇λτο̇)cε̇   16 l. τεccαράκοντα   17 ⌐ρ̑   19 ↳

'… [and the kids following], which will graze around the hamlet Terou in the Upper toparchy and throughout the whole nome, the shepherd being the aforementioned Theophilus, registered for the poll-tax at the same hamlet, and for which I will pay the proper tax. Farewell.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Apollonius, toparch, have signed for forty-one sheep, five goats, total 41 sheep, 5 goats. Year 5 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Tybi *n*.'

3–5 τὸ Τή[ρου ἐποί]κιον τῆc [ἄνω τοπ]αρχίαc. This hamlet, whose name is restored on the basis of **5434** 11 and 17, is not otherwise attested in the papyrological record. The name is presumably a genitive of the Thracian personal name Τήρης (D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum* (2014) 355–61). The genitive form is usually Τήρουc in the papyri, but Τήρου is found in P. Cair. Zen. III 59473.2 (mid-III BC) and frequently in inscriptions outside Egypt. An Oxyrhynchite *kleros* of this name, located in the area of Chysis in the Upper toparchy, is known from P. Bastianini 16 ii 14, dated to I/II (AB).

15 A toparch of the Lower toparchy named Ἀπολ( ) signs a declaration of sheep and goats in LV **3778** 37 (21). He may be the toparch Apollonius attested in a declaration of sheep and goats dating from 27 (SB XVI 12761.17 = II **356** descr.) and in an administrative report dating from 26 (P. Oxy. Hels. 9.1), both also relating to the Lower toparchy; cf. **3778** 37 n. Toparchs named Apollonius appear in two other texts published in this section, **5435** 30 (21) and **5439** 24 (26), the first of the Middle toparchy, the second of the Eastern. As different toparchies are involved and the hands of the subscriptions are different, it is unlikely that the same man is meant in all these cases.

18 . . .: indeterminate traces on broken surface. They may represent the epsilon provisionally supplied at the end of the preceding line.

                                           M. LANGELLOTTI

5434. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

106/127(b) back   6.4 × 14.9 cm   21

A declaration made by Theophilus son of Theodosius two years later than the declaration of his on the front of the papyrus (**5433**). A number of the elements expected in declarations of the first period (cf. **5433–52** introd.) are missing: the declarant does not give totals in 8, and there is no closing farewell or subscription. These omissions, along with the fact that the text is written on the back of a piece of an earlier declaration, suggest that this is a draft.

The text runs across the fibres in the same direction as that on the front. The papyrus is damaged on the right, but the text is almost complete.

<p align="center">

Ἡγεμάχῳ .[.(.)]ạ[c. 5]
παρὰ Τευφίλου τ[οῦ Θεο-]
δοσίου. ἀπογρά[φομαι]
εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸ[c]
5   ζ (ἔτος) Τιβιρίου Κạίς[αρος]
Cεβαστ[ο]ῦ τὰ ὑ[πάρχον-]
τά μοι πρόβα[τα πεν-]
τήκοντα αἶγ(α) μ[ίαν καὶ τ-]
οὐς ἐπακολου[θοῦντας]
10   ἄ⟨ρ⟩νας ἐρίφους, [ἃ νεμή-]
σονται περὶ τ[ὸ] Τήρου
ἐποίκιον τῆς ἄ[ν]ω [τ]ο-
παρχίας καὶ δ[ι’] ὅλο[υ τοῦ]
νομοῦ διὰ νομ[έως τοῦ]
15   προγεγραμμέ[νου Τευ-]
φίλου λαογρα[φ]ουμέ-
νου περ[ὶ] τὸ Τήρο[υ ἐ]ποί-
κιον, ὧν καὶ τάξομαι
τὸ καθῆκον τέλος.

</p>

2 l. Θεοφίλου   5 L, l. Τιβερίου   8 αἰ̇γ̇

'To Hegemachus, toparch(?), from Theophilus son of Theodosius. I register for the current 7th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the fifty sheep that belong to me, one goat, and the lambs and kids following, which will graze around the hamlet Terou in the Upper toparchy and throughout the whole nome, the shepherd being the aforementioned Theophilus, registered for the poll-tax at the hamlet Terou, and for which I will pay the proper tax.'

1 Ἡγεμάχῳ. This name is nowhere else attested in the papyri, but cf. I. Syringes 1674 (Thebes, undated).

.[.(.)]ạ[. Presumably τ[οπ]ά[ρχῃ] (cf. **5448** introd.) or ϲ[τρ]ạ[τηγῷ]. The latter suits the space better, but Hierax held the office in late January 21 (**5435** 3 n.).

2 Τευφίλου. Cf. **5433** 9 Τεοφίλου. The spelling of the name Θεόφιλοϲ with tau and contracted vowels seems to be attested predominantly among Jews; see C. Pap. Jud., Appendix II p. 193, to which add P. Harrauer 33.14 (Ars.; 1) and SB XIV 11426.51 (Ars.; late 1).

4 εἰϲ τὸ ἐνεϲτό[ϲ]. This line as restored is much shorter than the others.

8–9 τ]ούϲ. There is no room for τ at the beginning of 9; offset ink to the left cannot be part of it. Apparently the word was wrongly divided.

M. LANGELLOTTI

5435. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

104/12(a)   6.5 × 21.7 cm   21

   This is a collective declaration submitted by three individuals, two of whom appear to have been brothers, for a total of 110 animals (105 sheep and 5 goats). Six other collective declarations have survived from the Oxyrhynchite nome, all dated between *c.* 7 BC and AD 26: P. IFAO I 5 (8/7 BC), P. Berl. Möller 7 (8/9), LXXI **4823** (30 BC–AD 14), LV **3778–9** (20/21), and II **245** (26). Two of the three flocks registered in the present document are the largest among those attested in the extant collective declarations (55 sheep and 5 goats, and 40 sheep). Such flocks are usually small (between 2 and 25). A distinctive feature of declarations of this kind is the joint pasturing under the supervision of one shepherd, a practice which allowed the owners of the sheep to share expenses.

   The long strip of papyrus is preserved almost in its entirety except for two large lacunae, one on the right-hand edge of lines 6–14, the other at the foot. The back is mostly blank, but *EPMH̄* is written along the fibres at the top left corner.

(*m.* 2)	. . . [ ]
	Ϛ̣ενεπτα.
(*m.* 1)	Ἱέρακι ϲτρατηγῶι
	παρὰ Διονυϲοδώρ[ο]υ τοῦ
5	Ἔρωτοϲ καὶ Φετϲί(ριοϲ) τοῦ
	Ἔρωτọϲ καὶ Παπ[οντῶτοϲ]
	τοῦ Εὐτυχίωνοϲ. [ἀπογρα(φόμεθα)]
	εἰϲ τὸ ἐνεϲτọ̀ϲ ζ [ἔτοϲ]
	Τιβερίου Κ̣[αίϲαροϲ Ϲεβαϲτοῦ]
10	τὰ̣ [ὑ]πάρχọ[ντα ἡμῖν]

πρόβατα, τọ[ῦ μὲ]ν

Διονυϲοδ̣ώ̣ρ̣ọυ πρόβ̣[ατα πεν-]

τήκοντα πέντε α̣[ἶγαϲ]

πέντε, τοῦ δὲ Φ̣[ετ-]

15　　ϲίριοϲ πρόβατα τεϲ{ϲα}-

ϲαράκοντα, τοῦ δὲ

Παποντῶτοϲ πρόβα(τα) δέκα̣,

(γίνονται) ἐπὶ τὸ α(ὐτὸ) [π]ρ̣[(όβατα)] ρε αἶγ(εϲ) ε, καὶ τοὺϲ

ἐπ̣[α]κ̣ọλλουθ(οῦνταϲ) ἄρναϲ ἐρί-

20　　φουϲ ἐπιμεμιγμένα̣

ἀλλή(λοιϲ), ἃ νεμή(ϲεται) περὶ Ϲενεπ-

τα τῆϲ μέϲηϲ τοπαρχ(ίαϲ)

καὶ δι᾽ ὅλου τοῦ νομοῦ διὰ

νομέ̣ωϲ ἑνὸϲ τῶν προγε-

25　　γραμμένων Παποντῶ-

τοϲ λαογρα(φουμένου) περὶ Ϲεϲφθα

τῆϲ κάτω τọπ̣αρχ̣(ίαϲ), ὧ̣ν̣ καὶ̣

[τ]αξόμεθα τὸ̣ κ̣α̣θῆ̣(κον) τ̣[έλ(οϲ).]

29　　[εὐτύχει.　　　].̣

(*m. 3*)　[　(*vac.?*)　] Ἀπολλ̣ώ̣(νιοϲ) τọπ̣(άρχηϲ)

[ϲεϲη(μείωμαι) πρόβ(ατα) ἑκ]α̣τὸν πέν-

[τε, αἶγ(αϲ) πέντε　　].̣[.̣].̣ . . . [

．　　．　　．　　．　　．　　．　　．　　．　　．　　．　　．

5 φ̣ετϲ[̣�　　17 προβ̄ᵃ　　18 ⌙, ā, αʹ̄　　19 ἐπ̣[α]κ̣ọλλου^θ, l. ἐπακολου-　　21 αλλ̣^η̄, νεμ̣^η̄

22, 27 τοπαρ̣^χ　　26 λαογρ̄^ᵃ　　28 κ̣α̣θ^η̄　　30 α̣πολλ̣^ω̄το)

(2nd hand) '… Senepta.'

(1st hand) 'To Hierax, strategus, from Dionysodorus son of Eros and Phetsiris son of Eros and Papontos son of Eutychion. We register for the current 7th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the sheep which belong to us—fifty-five sheep and five goats belonging to Dionysodorus, forty sheep belonging to Phetsiris, ten sheep belonging to Papontos, combined total 105 sheep, 5 goats—and the lambs and kids following, mixed together, which will graze around Senepta in the Middle toparchy and throughout the whole nome, the shepherd being one of the aforementioned, Papontos, registered for the poll-tax at Sesphtha in the Lower toparchy, and for which we will pay the proper tax.'

(3rd hand) '… I, Apollonius, toparch, have signed for one hundred and five sheep, five goats …'

2 Ϲ̣ενεπτα: in the Middle toparchy. **5435** and **5436** are the only known declarations of livestock from this village.

3 Ἱέρακι cτρατηγῶι. Hierax is also attested in **5436** and other declarations of sheep and goats dated to 21: P. IFAO III 43, LV **3778–9**, P. NYU II 12, P. Princ. II 24 (with BL VI 118), SB XII 10794. See J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt* (²2006) 89.

5 Φετcί(ριοc). Presumably a variant spelling of the name Πετόcιριc or Πέτcιριc.

7 Εὐτυχίωνοc. A fairly uncommon name in Egypt, recurring only in **5442** 1 (65), T. Mom. Louvre 465.1 = C. Étiq. Mom. 892 (11; BL VIII 92), and T. Mom. Louvre 1007.2 = C. Étiq. Mom. 1405 (III/IV).

20 ἐπιμεμιγμένα. Cf. C. Balconi, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 40.

30 If the reading is correct, it seems that a space was left blank before Ἀπολλώ(νιοc). It is less likely that Ἀπολλω(νίου) is the toparch's father's name.

31 cεcη(μείωμαι) seems to suit the space better than ἀναγέγρα(φα).

32] . [.] . . . . [. After the number of goats, we expect the grand total (cf. **5433** 17).

M. LANGELLOTTI

5436. DECLARATION OF SHEEP

106/8(d)   4.9 × 5.3 cm   21

The beginning of a declaration made by a single declarant, addressed to the strategus Hierax. It breaks off after the statement of the number of sheep.

(*m.* 2)   Cενεπ(τα).
(*m.* 1)   Ἱέρακι   cτρατηγῶι
          [π]αρὰ Θοώνιοc τοῦ
          [C]εύθου. ἀπογράφομ[αι]
  5   [ε]ἰc τὸ ἐνεcτὸc ζ (ἔτοc)
          [Τι]βερίου Καίcαρο[c]
          Cεβαcτοῦ τὰ ὑπάρχ(οντά)
          [μοι πρό]βατα τριάκοντ(α)

                 .   .   .   .   .

1 cενε⟩   5 ⌊   7 υπαρ^χ   8 τριακο^τυ

(2nd hand) 'Senepta.'
(1st hand) 'To Hierax, strategus, from Thoonis son of Seuthes. I register for the current 7th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the thirty(+?) sheep which belong to me …'

1 Cενεπ(τα). See **5435** 2 n.
2 Ἱέρακι cτρατηγῶι. See **5435** 3 n.

S. SLATTERY

5437. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

104/12(b)+(c)   3.8 × 9.5 cm (fr. 1), 6.2 × 19.1 cm (fr. 2)   25 January 21

      This declaration is preserved on two strips of papyrus. The first carries the initial section, breaking off in the middle of the description of the grazing area, while the second gives the official subscription and a lower margin 14.3 cm deep.

Fr. 1

(*m.* 3?)   [   ] ̣ ̣

          [   ]

(*m.* 1)   [Ἱέρακι] cτρατηγῶι

          [παρὰ] Φ[α]τρέουc τοῦ Ἀφύγχιο̣[c.]

          [ἀπογρ]άφομαι εἰc τὸ ἐνεcτὸc

5   [ζ (ἔτοc) Τι]βερίου Καίcαροc Cεβαcτοῦ

          [τὰ ὑ]πάρχοντά μοι πρόβατα

          [τριάκ]οντα δύο αἶγαc

          [δύο, (γίνονται)] πρό̣(βατα) λβ αἶγ(εc) β, καὶ τοὺ̣c

          [ἐπακ]ο̣λο̣υθοῦν̣τ̣αc

10   [ἄρναc] ἐρί̣φ̣ο̣υ̣c, [ἃ̣] ν[ε-]

          [μήcεται περὶ] ̣ ̣ ̣[̣ ̣ ̣]

          [*c.* 7   τῆc π]ρ̣ὸ̣c λίβα̣

          [τοπαρχίαc καὶ δ]ι̣’ [ὅλου]

         .   .   .   .

Fr. 2

         .   .   .   .

(*m.* 2)   [̣ ̣ ̣] ̣[̣] ̣[̣] ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ πρό-

          βα̣τα τριάκοντα δύο

          αἶγαc δ̣ύ̣ο, (γίνονται) πρό̣(βατα) λβ β.

          (ἔτουc) ζ Τιβ[ε]ρ̣ίου Καίcαροc

5   Cεβαcτοῦ, Τυβι λ̄.

Fr. 1   Fr. 2

8 πρ̊ό, αἰ̄γ   3 ⟋ρ̂ό̣   4 ⌐

      'To Hierax, strategus, from Phatres son of Aphynchis. I register for the current 7th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the thirty-two sheep that belong to me, two goats, total 32 sheep 2 goats, and the lambs and kids following, which will graze around N.N. in the Western toparchy and throughout the whole …'

(2nd hand) '… thirty-two sheep and two goats, total 32 sheep, 2 (goats). Year 7 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Tybi 30.'

Fr. 1

1] ... This annotation probably specified the name of the village; cf. e.g. **5435** 1 and see **5440** 1 n.

2 [Ἱέρακι] cτρατηγῶι. For the restoration of the name, see **5435** 3 n.

Fr. 2

1 Before πρόβατα, we expect ἀναγέγραφα or cεcημείωμαι in some form, but it is not easy to read either of them.

M. LANGELLOTTI

5438. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

106/140(a)   8.7 × 10 cm   25

Part of a τόμος cυγκολλήcιμοc. Two documents are preserved, each headed by its number within the composite roll, '30' and '31' (cf. LXXI **4825** 1 n.). The surviving portion of the first document bears extensive traces of ink, but they are too faint for the text to be transcribed satisfactorily in its entirety. It is a declaration of eleven sheep (11–12) addressed to the strategus Chaereas (2) by a person with a name beginning with Ἡρακλ- (3).

The second declaration, edited here, is also addressed to Chaereas. The flock registered is one of the largest attested for the Oxyrhynchite nome, 75 sheep and 3 goats. See also **5452** and Langellotti, *L'allevamento* 85–6.

The papyrus is incomplete at the foot. On the back, there are traces of a document of indeterminate nature written against the fibres.

(*m.* 2)   [λ]α̣
(*m.* 1)   Χ̣αιρέαι cτρατηγῶι
                 παρὰ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Δ̣[ω-]
                 c̣ιθέου. ἀπ[ο]γράφομ̣[αι]
        5   εἰc τὸ ἐνε̣cτὸc ια (ἔτοc) Τ[ιβ(ερίου)]
                 Καίc̣α̣[ρο]c̣ Cεβαcτοῦ τ̣ὰ [ὑ-]
                 πάρχοντ̣ά̣ μ̣οι πρ[όβ(ατα)]
                 ὁβδομήκοντα πέ̣[ντε]
                 αἶγα̣c τρεῖc, (γίνονται) πρ(όβατα) ο[ε] α̣ἶ̣[γ(εc)] γ,
        10   καὶ τοὺc ἐπακολλου-
                 θο[ῦ]ντας ἄρναc ἐρίφου[c],
                 ἃ̣ νεμήcονται [περὶ]

Θῶζβιν τῆϲ ἄ[νω το-]

παρχίαϲ καὶ δι᾽ ὅ[λου]

15   [τοῦ νομοῦ] δι[ὰ νο-]

[μέωϲ

.   .   .   .

5 L   8 l. ἑβδομήκοντα   9 /⚮   10–11 l. ἐπακολουθοῦνταϲ   13 l. Θῶϲβιν; θ
corr. from τ

(2nd hand) '31.'

(1st hand) 'To Chaereas, strategus, from Theodorus son of Dositheus. I register for the current 11th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the seventy-five sheep that belong to me and three goats, total 75 sheep 3 goats, and the lambs and kids following, which will graze around Thosbis in the Upper toparchy and throughout the whole nome, the shepherd being …'

1 [λ]α. The *kollema* number is restored on the basis of the heading of the preceding document (λ).

2 Chaereas is attested as strategus from 23 to 29; see Whitehorne, *Str.R.Scr.*² 89. He is the addressee of the preceding declaration in this *τόμοϲ ϲυγκολλήϲιμοϲ* (see introd.), of **5439** below, and of several other declarations: SB XVI 12760 = II **350** (23 or 25), II **245** (26), II **353** = C. Pap. Jud. III 482 (27), SB XII 10795 = II **351** (28), XXXVIII **2850** (29), SB XX 14094 (29); cf. also II **244** (23).

8 ὁβδομήκοντα. The same spelling is used in PSI XII 1236.26 (Ars.; 128) and P. Berl. Frisk 1 xxxiii 19 (Ars.; 155); cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i 290–92.

M. LANGELLOTTI

5439. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

25 3B.54/A(b)   7.6 × 23 cm   26

A declaration of twenty-two sheep and one goat addressed to the strategus Chaereas, who is also the addressee of **5438**. The upper margin is missing above the column of text, and any official docket will have been lost.

Χαιρέᾳ ϲ[τρατηγῷ]

παρὰ . . . ω . . [c. 6]

λικοϲ. ἀπογρ[άφομαι]

εἰϲ τὸ ἐνοϲτὸϲ τρ[ιϲκ]αι-

5   δέκατον (ἔτοϲ) Τιβερίου

Καίϲαροϲ Ϲεβαϲτοῦ

τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι

πρόβατα ϲύμμικτα

[εἴκο]ϲι δύο αἶγαν μίαν,

10 [(γίνονται) πρό(βατα)] κβ αἶγ(α) α, καὶ τοὺϲ
[ἐπα]κολουθοῦντας
[ἄρν]αϲ ἐρίφουϲ, ἃ νε-
μήϲονται περὶ Ταμ-
πεμου [τ]ῆϲ πρὸϲ ἀ-

15 πηλιώτου τοπαρ-
χία[ϲ κ]αὶ δι’ ὅλου τοῦ
νομοῦ διὰ νομέοϲ
Ἀφύνχιϲ ἀφήλικοϲ
ἀναγραφομένο[υ] πε-

20 ρὶ Κωι τοῦ Κυνοπ[ο]λί-
του, ὧν καὶ τάξομαι
τὸ καθῆκον τέλοϲ.

             εὐτύχ(ει).

            (*vac.*)

(*m. 2*) Ἀπολλώ(νιος) τοπ(άρχης) ϲεϲη[μ(είωμαι)] πρόβατα

25 εἴκοϲι δύο αἶγ(α) μί[αν], (γίνονται) πρ(όβατα) κβ αἶγ(α) α.
(ἔτουϲ) ιγ Τιβε[ρίου Καίϲαρο]ϲ Ϲεβαϲτ(οῦ)

        .   .   .   .

4 l. ἐνεϲτόϲ   5 L   10 αῑ^γ   10, 25 (second) l. αἴξ   12 νε–   14 α–
15 τοπαρ–   17 l. νομέωϲ   18 l. Ἀφύγχιοϲ   23 ευτυ^χ   24 απολλ^ω το)   25 αῑ^γ,
remaining abbreviations unclear   26 L, ϲεβαϲ^τ

'To Chaereas, strategus, from … I register for the current thirteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus the sheep that belong to me, twenty-two in all, one goat, total 22 sheep, 1 goat, and the lambs and kids following, which will graze around Tampemou in the Eastern toparchy and throughout the whole nome, the shepherd being Aphynchis, a minor registered at Koi in the Cynopolite (nome), and for which I will pay the proper tax. Farewell.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Apollonius, toparch, have signed for twenty-two sheep and one goat, total 22 sheep and 1 goat. Year 13 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus …'

3 λικοϲ. ἀφή]|λικοϲ is unlikely, as it would leave little space for the father's name in 2, and one would expect a guardian to be mentioned if the declarant was a minor. Φή]|λικοϲ (rare in Egypt)?

10 αἶγ(α) α. For the abbreviation, see P. Köln II 86.10 n.

14–16 [τ]ῆϲ πρὸϲ ἀπηλιώτου τοπαρχία[ϲ. The usual phrase has πρὸϲ ἀπηλιώτην; for the genitive, cf. LXXVII **5107** 3–4 (210/11; see *ZPE* 185 (2013) 200–202).

20–21 Κωι τοῦ Κυνοπ[ο]λίτου. This village is otherwise attested only in two other livestock declarations, P. Berl. Möller 7.21 (8/9; BL VIII 63) Κω[ι] (Benaissa; Κ ̣ ω ed. pr.) τοῦ Κυνοπολεί[τ]ου, and

SB XVI 12762.9–10 (28) *Κω τοῦ* [*Κυνοπολ*]*είτου* (Messeri; [Ἡρακλεοπολ]*είτου* ed. pr.). In each case, as here, it is the place where the shepherd is registered. It is unclear whether it is identical to Heracleopolite *Κω*; cf. M. R. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome* (1998) 115–16.

24–6 The latter parts of these lines are severely damaged, and the reading of individual letters is extremely uncertain.

24 Ἀπολλώ(νιος) τοπ(άρχης). See **5433** 15 n.

M. LANGELLOTTI

5440. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

27 3B.44/H(1–2)b   6.5 × 28.8 cm   30 January 43
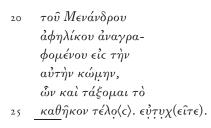
This long strip of papyrus contains a declaration addressed to Theon and Sarapion. Their titles are not given, but Theon is probably the toparch of that name to whom the contemporary declaration of livestock SB XVI 12763 (41) is addressed.

The text is complete, but the middle section (11–18) is badly rubbed. No subscription is appended, and the lower part of the sheet has been left blank.

```
(m. 2)      Τῆις. Μεχ(ειρ) ε̄. ιδ α.
(m. 1)      Θέωνι καὶ Ϲαραπίωνι
            παρὰ Ἥρᾱτος τοῦ Δι-
            δύμου. ἀπογράφομαι
     5      εἰς τὸ ἐνεϲτὸϲ γ (ἔτοϲ)
            Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
            Καίϲαροϲ Ϲεβαϲτοῦ
            Γερμανικοῦ Αὐτοκρά`τοροϲ´
            τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι
    10      πρόβατα δεκατέϲ-
            ϲαρα αἶγα μίαν,
            (γίνονται) πρό(βατα) ιδ αἶγ(α) α, καὶ τοὺϲ
            ἐπακολουθοῦντα`ϲ´
            ἄρναϲ ἐρίφουϲ, ἂ νε-
    15      μήϲονται περὶ Τῆιν
            τῆϲ Θμοιϲεφω το-
            παρχίαϲ καὶ δι᾽ ὅλου
            τοῦ νομοῦ διὰ νο-
            μέωϲ Διδύμου
```

20 τοῦ Μενάνδρου
ἀφηλίκου ἀναγρα-
φομένου εἰς τὴν
αὐτὴν κώμην,
ὧν καὶ τάξομαι τὸ
25 <u>καθῆκον τέλο⟨ς⟩. εὐτυχ(εῖτε).</u>

1 μέ$\overset{\chi}{}$ 5 L   12 ⟋ πρ̄$\overset{o}{}$, αἰ$\overset{\gamma}{}$, l. αἴξ   21 l. ἀφήλικος   25 ευτυ̣$\overset{\chi}{}$

(2nd hand) 'Teis. Mecheir 5. 14 (sheep), 1 (goat).'

(1st hand) 'To Theon and Sarapion from Heras son of Didymus. I register for the current 3rd year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator the fourteen sheep that belong to me, one goat, total 14 sheep, 1 goat, and the lambs and kids following, which will graze around Teis in the Thmoisepho toparchy and throughout the whole nome, the shepherd being Didymus son of Menander, a minor registered at the same village, and for which I will pay the proper tax. Farewell.'

1 Dockets recording the name of the village and the total number of animals declared are quite common in Oxyrhynchite declarations of sheep and goats; see LXXI **4825** 1 n. and the list in Langellotti, *L'allevamento* 23–7. For another annotation giving the month (the day is lost), cf. SB XVI 12763.1 (41).

Τῆις. Another declaration from this village is SB XVI 12762 (28).

M. LANGELLOTTI

5441. Sᴜᴘᴘʟᴇᴍᴇɴᴛᴀʀʏ Dᴇᴄʟᴀʀᴀᴛɪᴏɴ ᴏғ Sʜᴇᴇᴘ

73/61(a)   7 × 19.5 cm   24 July 58

A supplementary declaration of sheep addressed to the royal scribe Ptolemaeus. It belongs to the second of the three groups identified by S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 168–9.

The top margin appears to be complete, with no trace of an official docket of the kind that is sometimes found; see **5440** 1 n. Although the body of the text and the declarant's subscription are intact, the papyrus is broken at the foot, so that it is impossible to tell whether it originally bore an official subscription or not. The back is blank, apart from blurred traces of ink arising from contact with writing.

Πτολεμαίῳ βασιλικῷ γρα̣(μματεῖ)
παρὰ Ὠφελίωνος τοῦ Ὥρο̣[υ].
ἀπεγραψά̣μην τῷ ἐνε̣ς-
τῶτι ἔτει {ἀπεγράψαμη[ν]}
5 ἐπὶ κώμης Θώλθε̣ως
τῆς μέ̣ς̣ης τοπαρχί̣α̣ς

ἃ ἔχω θρέμματα
καὶ πρώτης ἀπ[ογρα-]
φῆς ἀπὸ γονῆς ἄ[ρνας]
10   τέccαρας, οἷς ο[ὐδὲν]
προcεγέν[ετο] εἰc
τὴν δευτέραν ἀπογρα-
φήν, καὶ ὀμνύω Νέρωνα
Κλαύδιον Κ[α]ίcαρα
15   Cεβαcτὸν Γερμανικὸν
Αὐτοκράτορα ἀληθῆ
εἶναι τὰ προγ[ε]γραμ-
μένα. (ἔτουc) δ Νέρ[ω]νοc
Κλαυδίου Καί[cα]ροc
20   Cεβαcτοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
Αὐτοκράτοροc, Ἐπειφ λ̄.
(*m.* 2)   Ὠφελίων Ὥρου ὤμοcα τὸν
ὅρκον. Ζωίλοc Τ[. . .] ἔγραψα
ὑπὲρ α(ὐτοῦ) μὴ ἰδότοc γράμμα(τα). (ἔτουc) δ
25   Νέρωνοc Κλαυδίου
Καίcαροc Cεβα[cτοῦ Γερμανικοῦ]
Αὐ[τ]οκ[ρά]τ[ο]ρο[c], Ἐπε[ι]φ λ̄.

.   .   .   .

1 γρ̅ᵃ   14 κ[α]ιcαρα—   18, 24 Ⳑ   24 no signs of abbreviation, l. εἰδότοc

'To Ptolemaeus, royal scribe, from Ophelion son of Horus. I registered in the current year at the village of Tholthis in the Middle toparchy the livestock I have and four newborn lambs of the first registration, to which none were added for the second registration, and I swear by Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator that the aforementioned facts are true. Year 4 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 30.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Ophelion son of Horus, swore the oath. I, Zoilus son of T—, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters. Year 4 of Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, Epeiph 30.'

1 Πτολεμαίῳ βαcιλικῷ γρα(μματεῖ). This is now the earliest attestation of Ptolemaeus as royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite nome. Previously he was known as royal scribe from 24 July 60 to 24 July 66; see Whitehorne, *Str.R.Scr.*² 159–60. He is the joint addressee of two other declarations of this type, XXXVIII **2851** (60) and II **246** = W. *Chr.* 247 (66), along with the strategus and οἱ γράφοντεc τὸν νομόν.

5–6 Θώλθεωc τῆc μέcηc τοπαρχίαc. Another declaration of livestock from this village is PSI I 40 (129).

8–9 καὶ πρώτης ἀπ[ογρα]φῆς ἀπὸ γονῆς. This particular combination of phrases is unparalleled; see LXXI **4825** 9–10 n.

10–11 οἷς ο[ὐδὲν] προϲεγέν[ετο]. Cf. **2851** 13–14 οἷς οὐδὲν προϲγέγ[ο]νεν and **4825** 11–12 n.

18 (ἔτους) δ. The traces of the year number consist of a curved base followed by the end of a descending oblique touching the following nu near the top. In 24, the extremities of a long horizontal base are visible on either side of a lacuna.

21 Ἐπειφ λ̄. The officials' subscriptions to **246** and **2851** are likewise dated to Epeiph 30.

22–3 ὤμοϲα τὸν ὅρκον. Ζωίλοϲ Τ[. . .] . The end of 22 is written in *Verschleifung*, with hardly enough ink to account for the article. G. Messeri suggests reading Ὀρίων at the beginning of 23 in place of ὅρκον, but the omission of τὸν ὅρκον would be unparalleled, and the reading of the father's name would become problematic (Ζωιλᾶτ[οϲ] comes to mind, but the name is virtually confined to the Arsinoite nome in this period). If the present reconstruction is correct, the father's name must have been short (AB).

J. WHITEHORNE

5442. Memorandum of Sheep and Goats Declared

101/9(b)   10.2 × 13.1 cm   65

This is a memorandum concerning the possession of a flock of sheep and goats which had been declared in years 10 and 11 of the emperor Nero (63/4–64/5). In year 10, two declarations were made, as was usual in this period; the size of the flock is partially known for the first declaration (35 or perhaps 65 sheep, 1 goat, and 3 newborn lambs), but not for the second, as the relevant text is almost completely lost (10–13).

A *kollesis* is visible 1 cm from the right-hand edge. On the back, there are the remains of an account written in a fast cursive against the fibres. It also seems to concern sheep: line 3 begins διεφθάρη ἀπὸ τελ(είων).

ὑπόμνημα προβά(των) Εὐτ`υ´χίων(οϲ)
ια (ἔτους) Νέρωνοϲ τοῦ κυρίου.
τῷ μὲν ι (ἔτει) πρόβα[τα]
[c. 4]κοντα πέντε
5   αἶγαν μίαν (*vac.*)
καὶ τοὺς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν
ἀπὸ γονῆϲ ἐπακολου-
θοῦντεϲ ἄρνεϲ τρῖϲ,
καὶ τῇ δευ[τ]έρᾳ ἀπο-
10   γρα[φῇ   c. 10   ]
γεί[νονται ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ]

$$\pi\rho[\acute{o}\beta\alpha\tau\alpha \qquad c.\ 8 \qquad]$$
$$\kappa o\underline{\nu}[\tau\alpha \qquad c.\ 6 \qquad \tau\hat{\omega}\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}]$$
$$\iota\alpha\ (\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\iota)\ [\qquad c.\ 12 \qquad]$$

.   .   .   .

1 $\pi\rho o\overset{\alpha}{\beta}, \epsilon\upsilon\tau\chi\overset{\upsilon}{\iota}\overset{\omega\nu}{\cdot}$ 2, 3, 14 ⌐   8 l. -τας ἄρνας τρεῖς   11 l. γίνονται

'Memorandum of the sheep of Eutychion for year 11 of Nero the lord. In year 10 (I registered) … -five sheep, one goat, and three lambs following from birth so far, and in the second declaration … combined total *n* sheep …, and in year 11 …'

1 Εὐτ`υ´χίων(ος). See **5435** 7 n·
4 [*c.* 4]κοντα: [τριά]κοντα or [ἑξή]κοντα.
6–7 See **5443** 19 n.
13 Presumably αἴξ (or αἶγ(α), cf. **5439** 10 n.) μία stood in the gap (WBH).

M. LANGELLOTTI

5443. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

33 4B.88/B(5–7)a   8.5 × 16.8 cm   84/5

This is now the earliest dated declaration in the third chronological group identified by Avogadro (cf. above, **5433–52** introd.); the next earliest is P. Köln II 86 of 99. A woman (her name, Asbonnous, is new) declares the flock in her possession. It was also registered in the previous year but is greatly reduced in number: twenty of her fifty-five sheep and lambs have died. The papyrus breaks off just before the specification of the grazing area. The addressee is the royal scribe Sarapion, not known previously.

(*m.* 2) Θῶλ(θις) κά(τω). πρό(βατα) λε, αἶγ(ες) β, ἄρν(ες) β.
(*m.* 1)   Ϲαραπίωνι βα(σιλικῷ) γρ(αμματεῖ)
             παρὰ Ἀϲβοννοῦτος τῆϲ
             Φιλέου τοῦ Ἐξακῶντος
5   μετὰ κυρίου Διογένους ἀδελ-
             φ[ο]ῦ τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Θώλ-
             θεωϲ τῆϲ κάτωι τοπαρχίαϲ.
             ἀπεγραψάμην τῶι διελθόν[τ(ι)]
             ἔτε[ι] ἐπὶ τῆϲ αὐτῆϲ κώμη(ϲ)
10   πρόβα(τα) τεϲϲεράκοντα πέντε,
             αἶγ(α) μίαν, ἄρν(ας) δέκα, ἔριφο(ν) ἕνα,

γίν(ονται) πρόβ(ατα) ν[ε], αἶγ(ες) β, ἐξ ὧν

διεφθάρη (*vac.*) [τ]έλεια πρόβατ(α)

δεκαεπτά, ἄρν(ες) τρεῖς, γίνοντ(αι)

15   πρόβα[τ]ᾳ κ, καταλείπ(ονται) πρόβ(ατα)

λ̄ε̄, αἶγες β, [ἃ] καὶ ἀπογράφομ(αι)

εἰς τὸ ἐνεςτὸς ε (ἔτος) Αὐτοκράτορ[ος]

Καίςαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Ϲεβαςτοῦ

Γερμανικοῦ κα[ὶ ⟨τοὺς⟩ ἀ]πὸ γονῆς

20   ἐπακολουθοῦντας ἄρνας

[δύο, ἃ νε]μήςεται περὶ

.   .   .   .

1 θ̅ω̅κ̅π̅ρ̅, αι^γ, αρ^ν   2 β̅ ͞ι͞ϛ)—   7 l. κάτω   9 επι: ε corr. from δ?   κωμ^η   10 προ̅β̅

11 αι^γ, αρ^ν, εριφ^ο   12 γιν̅προ̅β̅, αι^γ   13 προβα̅τ̅   14 αρ^ν, γινον^τ̅   15 καταλειπρο̅β̅

16 απογραφο̅μ̅   17 ε̅)

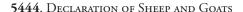(2nd hand) 'Lower Tholthis. Sheep 35, goats 2, lambs 2.'

(1st hand) 'To Sarapion, royal scribe, from Asbonnous daughter of Phileas son of Exacon, with her brother Diogenes as guardian, from the village of Tholthis in the Lower toparchy. I registered in the past year at the same village forty-five sheep, one goat, ten lambs, one kid, total 55 sheep, 2 goats, of which there have perished seventeen adult sheep, three lambs, total 20 sheep, and there remain 35 sheep, 2 goats, which I register for the current 5th year of Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, and two lambs following from birth, which will graze around …'

1 Θῶλ(θις) κά(τω). Cf. 6–7. The same village appears in two other livestock declarations, LXXI **4825** (65–9) and P. Köln II 86 (99).

2 Ϲαραπίωνι βα(ςιλικῷ) γρ(αμματεῖ). Sarapion's term of office is flanked by those of Hermophilus (80/81) and Gaius (first attested in 86). See T. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (2002) ii 1016.

3 Ἀϲβοννοῦτος: or Ἀϲκοννοῦτος. Either way, the name is new.

12–15 ἐξ ὧν διεφθάρη … καταλείπ(ονται). Cf. P. Köln IV 188.10–12 (second group), II 86.10–12, I **74** 14–16, and in this volume **5445** 2–5, **5446** 8–13, **5448** 9–10, etc. (third group).

19 ⟨τοὺς⟩ ἀ]πὸ γονῆς ἐπακολουθοῦντας. Cf. **5442** 6–8, which also places ἀπὸ γονῆς before the participle; contrast e.g. **5444** 17–18 and **5452** 12–14.

21 περί. A reference to Tholthis probably followed in the next line.

N. GONIS

5444. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

38 3B.86/B(1–3)b   7 × 14.3 cm   86/7

     A new owner declares seven sheep and one goat that he has recently bought (cf. **5450**), as well as three lambs born subsequently. The bought animals were previously registered at the village of Talao, and will continue to graze in the same area.

     The papyrus is broken above and below; the only serious losses are the names of the addressee and the declarant and the exact date of the text. There are some ink traces on the back, not necessarily parts of letters.

         .   .   .   .

     λ ̣ ̣ εως [*c.* 13   ]

     μητ(ρὸς) Ἄγχιος ̣φ ̣ ̣ ̣ ἀ[πὸ]

     ̣ Ταλαωι τῆ(ς) κά(τω) τοπ(αρχίας). ἀπο-

     γράφομαι πρώτως εἰς τὸ

5   ἐνεστὸς ζ (ἔτος) Αὐτοκράτορος

     Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

     Γερμανικοῦ ἃ ἠγόρασα

     παρὰ Ἀμβροσίας τῆς Κρά-

     τους τοῦ Μοσχίωνος

10   ἀφ᾽ ὧν εἶχε ἐν ἀπογραφῆι

     τῶι διελθόντι ἔτει ἐπὶ κώμ(ης)

     Ταλαωι θρεμμάτων

     πρόβ(ατα) ἑπτά, αἶγ(α) μίαν,

     ἃ καὶ ἀπογρ(άφομαι) ἐπὶ τῆ(ς) α(ὐτῆς) κώμη(ς)

15   εἰς τὸ ἐνεστὸς ζ (ἔτος) Αὐτοκρά̣[τ(ορος)]

     Καίσαρο̣ς Δομιτιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ

     Γερμανικοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐπακο-

     λουθοῦ[ντ]α̣[ς] ἀ̣πὸ γονῆς

     ἄρν(ας) τρεῖς, ἃ̣ νεμήσεται

20   περὶ τὴ(ν) α(ὐτὴν) κ̣ώμη(ν) Ταλαωι

     καὶ δι᾽ ὅλ[ου το]ῦ νομοῦ διὰ νομ(έως)

     Λυκ ̣[̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣]ο ̣ ̣ ου. καὶ ὀμνύ(ω)

     Α̣[ὐτ]ο̣κ̣[ράτορα] Καίσαρα

        .   .   .   .

2 μη^τ   3, 12, 20 l. *Ταλαω*   3 τηκατο)   5, 15 ζ⟨   11 κω^μ   13 προ^β, αιγ

14 απο⸍, τη̄ᾱκωμ^η   19 αρν   20 τη̄α̣κ̣ωμ^η   21 νο^μ   22 ομ̄ν^υ

'… mother Aynchis … from Talao in the Lower toparchy. I register for the first time for the current 7th year of Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus the seven sheep and one goat that I bought from Ambrosia daughter of Crates son of Moschion, from the animals that she had registered in the previous year at the village of Talao, which I register at the same village for the current 7th year of Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, and the three lambs following from birth, which will graze around the same village of Talao and throughout the whole nome, the shepherd being Lyc— son of … And I swear by Imperator Caesar …'

3 I cannot interpret the trace to the left of *Ταλαωι*. G. Messeri suggests that it may represent an abandoned attempt to write tau: the scribe started too low in the line.

Ταλαωι. Livestock from this village is also declared in LV **3778** (21).

4 πρώτως. The adverb was used by new owners in property declarations; see A. M. Harmon, *YCS* 4 (1934) 177–82. Among declarations of livestock, it occurs here and in **5450** 6, where purchases are explicitly mentioned, and in P. IFAO I 21.7 (54–68), though in an unusual place. The latter text seems to refer to purchases from a certain Th— and 'local merchants' (B. Boyaval, *Kentron* 3 (1987) 101–3 ≈ BL IX 110).

7 ἠγόρασα. See **5450** 9 n.

8 Ἀμβροσίας. The name is otherwise attested in I. Syringes 1870.4–5 (Memnoneia; Roman), P. Tebt. II 413.16 (II/III), LXVIII **4685** r. 8 (v).

8–9 Κράτους. The genitive of Κράτης otherwise occurs as Κράτητος or (less often) Κράτου; -κράτους appears only in compounds.

10 εἶχε ἐν ἀπογραφῆι. Essentially the same expression refers to sold livestock in P. IFAO I 21.8 (see above, 4 n.) and SB XX 14095 ii 14–16, 18–19 (1), and to camels in BGU II 468.13 (150) and P. Amh. II 102.13 (180).

N. GONIS

5445. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

36 4B.94/M(1–3)d   5.4 × 9.5 cm   30 January 98

Only the lower part of this declaration survives. Its purpose is to update a previous registration of sheep and goats. All the animals registered on that previous occasion are said to have perished or been sold; cf. **5446**. These two texts are unique among documents of their kind, in that they are not declarations of livestock proper but concern flocks that have been sold. The damage at the top makes it impossible to tell whether **5445** belongs to the second or third group of such declarations, but the date points to the third; cf. **5443** and **5446**.

.   .   .   .

πέ̣ν̣τ̣ε, [αἲξ εἷς, ἐξ ὧν]
διεφθάρη πρ̣[ό]β̣ατα

τέλεια τέccαρα, ἄρναc

δύο, κατ̣α̣λ̣ε̣[ίπ]ε̣[τ]α̣ι̣

5　πρόβατα ⟨ ⟩, αἲξ εἷc, ἃ

κ̣αὶ πέπρακα ἐν⟨ί⟩οιc

ἐμπόροιc. καὶ ὀ-

μνύω Αὐτοκράτορα

Νέρουαν Καί̣cαρα

10　Cεβαcτὸν μὴ ⟨ἐ⟩ψεῦ-

cθαι. (ἔτουc) β Αὐτοκράτοροc

Νέρουα Καίcαροc

Cεβαcτοῦ, Μεχειρ ε̄.

(*m. 2*)　　Ἡρᾶc Διονυcίου ἐπιδέδ(ωκα)

15　　καὶ ὀμώμεκα τὸν ὅρκον.

Ἑρμογε . . . ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ

αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότοc γρά(μματα).

3 l. ἄρνεc　　　11 ⌐　　14 ἐπιδε^δ　　15 l. ὀμώμοκα　　17 γρ^α

'… five, one goat, of which there have perished four adult sheep, two lambs, and there remain ⟨ ⟩ sheep, one goat, which I have sold to some merchants. And I swear by Imperator Nerva Caesar Augustus that I have not lied. Year 2 of Imperator Nerva Caesar Augustus, Mecheir 5.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Heras, son of Dionysius, have submitted (this declaration) and sworn the oath. I, Hermogenes (?), wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.'

1 πέντε̣. This is the latter part of the total of sheep and lambs declared; cf. **5443** 10ff.

ἐξ ὧ̣ν]. P. Köln IV 188.10 (1) is unique in having ἀ̣φ' in this place (my thanks to Ch. Armoni for confirming the reading on the original and supplying a high-resolution image).

2–5 διεφθάρη … κατ̣α̣[λ]ε̣[ίπ]ε̣[τ]α̣ι̣. See **5443** 13–15 n.

5 πρόβατα ⟨ ⟩. The scribe omitted the number of the remaining sheep. As WBH observes, the declarant 'lost 6 (4 adults and 2 lambs) from a total of …5: the figure lost in line 5 ended with ἐννέα'.

αἲξ εἷc. A he-goat; cf. P. Köln II 86.9 (99), PSI I 56.15 (107), I **74** 13 (116), and below, **5448** 8–9.

6 πέπρακα. Cf. **5446** 15. Sales of livestock are mentioned in three other declarations, viz. **5452** 17–21 (129/30), SB XIV 12117 (Ars.; 118–38), and P. Sarap. 4 (Herm.; 130). For purchases, see **5450** 9 n.

ἐν⟨ί⟩οιc. On the omission of accented ι before a back vowel after a liquid or nasal, see Gignac, *Grammar* i 302–3, and cf. P. Diosk. 6.18 (146 BC) ἔν⟨ι⟩οι.

7 ἐμπόροιc. Cf. P. IFAO I 21.11 (54–68) (after BL IX 110).

15 ὀμώμεκα, l. -μοκα. Cf. **5446** 30. On this spelling, see Gignac, *Grammar* ii 304. It appears to be typical of texts from Oxyrhynchus. A DDbDP search yields 20 instances, of which only two occur in papyri of unknown provenance, viz. P. Erl. 32.11 (238/9) and PSI XV 1524.19 (117); but both those texts contain variants of the collocation ἐπιδέδωκα καὶ ὀμώμοκα τὸν ὅρκον, which is attested predominantly in Oxyrhynchite documents.

16 Ἑρμογε . . . Probably Ἑρμογένης, but the writing is very fast and it is difficult to match the strokes with letters.

N. GONIS

5446. DECLARATION OF SHEEP

33 4B.85/B(1–6)c   6.4 × 26.5 cm   20 January 107

Like **5445**, this is a declaration for a flock that has been sold. A woman had registered a number of sheep and lambs in the previous year; some of them perished, and those surviving were then sold to another woman, who registered them in the same place as before. The addressee is not specified, which is unusual in livestock declarations; the subscription, added by a different hand, shows that this was not a copy. The text is complete but abrasion makes reading difficult in certain places.

The back was reused for a letter sent to a village scribe by someone who apparently worked in the strategus' office. Its publication is reserved for a forthcoming volume.

```
        παρὰ Ταυςίριος Ἑρμίο(υ)
        ἀπὸ τοῦ Κόςμου ἐποι-
        κίου μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ
        πατρὸς Ἑρμίο(υ) Ἀμόιτ(ος).
    5   ἀπεγραψάμην τῶι
        διελθόντι ἔτει πρό-
        βατα τέλ(εια) δεκαπέντε,
        ἄρνας πέντε, ἐξ ὧν
        διεφθάρη ἀπὸ μὲν
   10   τῶν τελείων πρό-
        βατα ἕξ, ἄρνες δύο,
        γίνεται πρόβατα
        ὀκτώ, καταλείπεται
        τέλεια πρόβατα δώδε-
   15   κα, ἃ καὶ πέπρακα
        Ηρα . . . . . ατος, ἃ καὶ
        αὐτὴ ἀπεγράψατο
        ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐ[π]οικ[ί]ο(υ).
        καὶ ὀμνύω Αὐτοκράτορα
   20   Καίςαρα Νέ[ρουα] Τραϊανὸν
```

Cεβαϲτὸν Γερμ[α]νικὸν

Δακικὸν μηθὲν

διεψεῦϲθαι. (ἔτουϲ) ι=

Αὐτοκρ[ά]τορο[ϲ]

25 Καίϲαροϲ Νέρουα

Τραϊανοῦ Cεβαϲτοῦ

Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ,

Μεχειρ β̄ . (m. 2) Ταύϲιριϲ

Ἑρμίου [ἐ]πιδέ[δω]κ[α]

30 κα[ὶ] ὀμώμεκα [τὸν]

ὅρκ[ο]ν.

       traces

    traces . . . μου

ἔγρ[α]ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν

35 [μὴ ε]ἰδότω[ν] γράμμ(ατα).

1, 4 ερμι^o   4 αμοι^τ   7 τε^λ   l. δεκατέϲϲαρα   18 ε[π]οικ[ι]^o   23 L
30 l. ὀμώμοκα

'From Tausiris daughter of Hermias, from the hamlet of Kosmou, with her father Hermias son of Amois as guardian. I registered in the past year fifteen adult sheep, five lambs, of which there have perished six of the adult sheep, two lambs, total eight sheep, and there remain twelve adult sheep, which I sold to (H)e— daughter of —as, which she registered at the same hamlet. And I swear by Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus that I have not lied. Year 10 of Imperator Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus, Mecheir 2.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Tausiris daughter of Hermias, have submitted (this declaration) and sworn the oath. I … (son?) of —mus wrote on their behalf as they are illiterate.'

2–3 *Κόϲμου ἐποικίου*. This is the earliest reference to this settlement, attested as a *κώμη* in the fourth century.

9 *ἀπὸ μέν* implies that *ἀπὸ δέ* would follow, but this is not the case. Our text confirms the restoration *ἀπὸ [μὲν τῶν]* in P. Köln IV 188.10; *ἀπὸ δ[ὲ τ]ῶν ἀρνῶ[ν* may have stood in the next line of that papyrus, but the traces are too exiguous to confirm any reading.

14 *τέλεια πρόβατα*. All the surviving sheep are now 'adult'; *τέλεια* is not used but implied in **5443** 15–16, **5445** 5, etc.

15 *ἃ καὶ πέπρακα*. Cf. **5445** 6 and n.

15–16 The scribe's way of writing *καί* is idiosyncratic; the iota is hardly discernible.

23 (ἔτουϲ) ι=. The two horizontals are curious, but *γ* is not a possible reading.

29–31 The distribution of traces to letters is very uncertain.

35 I owe the reading of this line to G. Messeri.

N. GONIS

5447. Declaration of Livestock

32 4B.90/C(4)b   5.9 × 6.1 cm   *c.* 110/11

The top of a declaration of the third kind, submitted by a woman to the strategus. No details about the flock survive.

(*m.* 2?)	Τακολκ(είλεως)
(*m.* 1)	Ἀρχίᾳ cτρ(ατηγῷ)
	παρὰ Ἀύνχιος Φα[. . .]
	ος ἀπὸ κώμης Τα[κολ-]
5	κείλεως μετὰ [κυ-]
	ρίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Πε-
	τεν[ε]φώτου Διοσκορο`υ΄
	ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως.
	τῷ διελθόντι ἔτει ἀ-
10	πεγραψάμην ἐπὶ
	[τ]ῆς Τακολκείλεως
	[*c.* 7] . [*c.* 4] .
	. . . .

1 τακολ\^κ   2 cτρ\^)   3 l. Ἀύγχιος   5 κειλεωc: κ corr. from χ

(2nd hand?) 'Takolkeilis.'
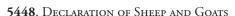
(1st hand) 'To Archias, strategus, from Aynchis daughter of …, from the village of Takolkeilis, with her husband Petenephotes son of Dioscorus, from the city of Oxyrhynchi, as guardian. In the past year, I registered at Takolkilis …'

1 *Τακολκ*(είλεως). Cf. 4–5, 11. This village was in the Middle toparchy, later in the 7th pagus. It has not previously been associated with livestock.

2 *Ἀρχίᾳ* cτρ(ατηγῷ). An unpublished papyrus, mentioned in XXXVI **2758** 1 n., indicates that Archias was in office in 110/11. See Whitehorne, *Str.R.Scr.*² 95.

N. GONIS

5448. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

27 3B.42/H(6)d   4.8 × 8.1 cm   *c.* 121

The upper part of a declaration of sheep and goats addressed to an unnamed toparch. The format is typical of declarations of the third group. So far, the toparch has appeared as an addressee of declarations of livestock in texts of the first and second chronological groups, and as the signatory of several declarations from the 20s; for the details, see below, 1 n. The present text is the latest Oxyrhynchite declaration addressed to the toparch: the office appears to have continued into the early second century in this nome. On the toparch, see T. Kruse, *Der Königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung* (2002) i 222–5, 229–35.

5448–51 were found in close proximity, as their inventory numbers indicate. The find included two other similar declarations, both now in the 27 3B.42/H(7) folder, which are too badly preserved to transcribe in full and publish here. One of them is dated to Mecheir 4 of Hadrian's fifth year (= 29 January 121), while the other contains an oath by Hadrian. All the documents in this group should be contemporary, hence the dating of **5448–51** to *c.* 121 (NG).

τοπάρχηι
παρὰ Ὡρίωνος τοῦ
καὶ Θέωνο(ς) Ὡρίωνος
τοῦ καὶ Θέωνο(ς) ἀπ᾽ Ὀξυρύγχ(ων)
5   πόλ(εως). ἀπεγραψάμην
τῷ διελθόντι (ἔτει)
ἐπὶ Τυχιννεκώτε-
ως πρόβ(ατα) ὀκτώ, αἶγα
ἕνα, ἐξ ὧν διεφθά-
10   ρη πρόβ(ατα) δύ[ο, κατα-]
λε[ί]πεται πρόβ(ατα) [ἕξ],
[αἲξ εἷς, ἃ] καὶ ἀπογρά-
[φομαι   *c.* 10   ].
Traces of two more lines

. . . . . .

3, 4 θεων°   4–5 οξυρυγ^χ πο^λ   6 L   8, 10, 11 προ^β

'To the toparch, from Horion alias Theon son of Horion alias Theon, from the city of Oxyrhynchi. I registered in the past year at Tychinnecotis eight sheep, one goat, of which there have perished two sheep, and there remain six sheep and one goat, which I register …'

1 τοπάρχηι. Cf. LXXI **4822** (3 bc), II **354** = SB XVI 12759 (15), **5434** 1 n. above (21), II **355** = SB XVI 12763 (41), and **5440** (43) introd. above. The toparch signs **5433** above (18/19), LV **3778** (21), **3779** (20/21), **5435** above (21), P. Princ. II 24 (21), II **245** (26), **5439** above (26), II **351** = SB XII 10795 (28), and XXXVIII **2850** (29).

2–4 It is curious that the declarant has the same name and alias as his father. A certain Horion alias N.N., son of Horion, inhabitant of Oxyrhynchus, occurs in SB XVI 13048.9–11, a fragment of a contract dated to the reign of Domitian (81–96). A Horion alias Theon is attested in III **492** 3 and 16 (130), but he cannot be identified with the individuals here, as he is a son of Sarapion and is from Ibion Ammoniou in the Lower toparchy.

7–8 Τυχιννεκώτεως. This is the first declaration of sheep from this village in the Eastern toparchy.

8–9 αἶγα ἕνα. See **5445** 5 n.

9–10 ἐξ ὧν διεφθάρη. This expression is common in declarations belonging to the third group; see **5443** 12–15 n.

13 The text will probably have continued with εἰς τὸ ἐνεςτὸ]ς | [n (ἔτος) κτλ.

M. LANGELLOTTI

5449. Declaration of Sheep

27 3B.42/H(7)b 7.6 × 7.2 cm *c.* 121

The upper part of a declaration of thirteen sheep and two goats addressed to a *praktor* of the village of Ionthis. It is slightly damaged at the upper left-hand corner and breaks off at the point where the number of animals registered in the previous year was to be given.

5449–51 are the only known declarations of sheep and goats in the Oxyrhynchite nome addressed to a *praktor*.

(*m.* 2)   ἀπηλ(ιώτου) τοπ(αρχίας), Ἴωνθ(ις). πρόβ(ατα) ιγ, ἄρν(ες) β.

(*m.* 1)   [π]ράκτορι Ἰώνθεως
         παρὰ Διογένους Διογέν[ο]υς
         τοῦ Φαύςτου ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγ-
5   χων πόλεως. ἀπεγ[ρα-]
         ψάμην τῷ διελ[θόντι]
         δ (ἔτει) ἐπὶ κώμης Ἰ[ώνθεως]
         [τ]ῆς πρὸς ἀπη[λιώτην]
         [τοπα]ρχίας [πρόβατα]

         .   .   .   .

1 α̣π̣ηλ̣το⟩ιων θ προ β, αρ ν   5 ν of χων corr.   7 ⟨

(2nd hand) 'Eastern toparchy, Ionthis. Sheep 13, lambs 2.'

(1st hand) 'To the *praktor* of Ionthis, from Diogenes son of Diogenes, grandson of Faustus, from the city of Oxyrhynchi. I registered in the past 4th year at the village of Ionthis of the Eastern toparchy … sheep …'

1 This is the first livestock declaration from Ionthis.

2 [π]ράκτορι Ἰώνθεως. The date of the text suggests that this was a πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν; cf. B. Palme, *Das Amt des ἀπαιτητής in Ägypten* (1989) 33. A πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῶν signs a Hermopolite declaration of livestock in PSI I 56 (107), an early reference to the office, and P. Sarap. 4 (130) and 5 (133) show that Hermopolite declarations of sheep and goats were submitted to the office of the *praktor* (πρακτορία) within each toparchy in the second century. πράκτορες ἀργυρικῶν are attested in the Arsinoite nome in the second and third centuries as collectors of the ἐννόμιον, the tax connected with these declarations (P. Fay. I 42(a), P. Hamb. I 42). At Thebes, specific πράκτορες ἐννομίου are attested under Tiberius in O. Bodl. II 1103 (33); the early date implies that they were not liturgists. Since **5449–51** were found together, and the villages concerned were all (where known) in the Eastern toparchy, it is possible that these declarations were submitted to the same *praktor*. **5448**, addressed to a toparch and found with **5449–51**, reinforces the impression that this was a *praktor* functioning at the level of the toparchy.

M. LANGELLOTTI

5450. Declaration of Sheep

27 3B.42/H(8)c	5.9 × 7.9 cm	*c.* 121

Only the upper part of the declaration is preserved. The papyrus breaks off after the statement of purchase: the number of sheep and details about the grazing area are lost. The date, which must have been recorded at the end of the document, is also missing.

 (*m.* 2) πράκ(τορι).
 (*m.* 1) παρὰ Cινθώνιος Ἀθηναί-
    ου ἀπὸ Ψώβθεως ἀπηλιώ-
    του μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀν-
  5 δρὸς Ὥρου Ὥρου. ἀπογράφο-
    μαι πρώτως εἰς τὸ ἐννόμι-
    ον τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ε (ἔτους) ἐπὶ
    τῆς Ψώβθεως ἀπηλιώτου
    ἃ ἠγόρασα παρὰ Πνεφερῶ-
  10 τος . . . . . ος ἀπὸ Ὥφεως
    [ἀπογρα]φέντα . [*c.* 5]
    [*c.* 17   ] .
    . . . . .

1 πρα^κ 7 L

(2nd hand) 'To the *praktor*.'

(1st hand) 'From Sinthonis daughter of Athenaeus, from Psobthis of the Eastern toparchy, with her husband Horus son of Horus as guardian. I register for the first time for the *ennomion* of the current 5th year at eastern Psobthis (the animals) which I purchased from Pnepheros son of …, from Ophis, which had been registered …'

5–6 ἀπογράφομαι πρώτωϲ. See **5444** 4 n.

6–7 εἰϲ τὸ ἐννόμιον. See **5433–52** introd.

9 ἃ ἠγόραϲα. Purchases of animals are mentioned in three other declarations, P. Flor. III 374.5–7 (Herm.; 55/6?), **5444** 7–9 above (86/7), and SB XX 14095 ii 13–19 (Oxy.; late I). For references to sales, see **5445** 6 n.

10 ἀπὸ Ὤφεωϲ. Like Psobthis (3, 8), this was in the Eastern toparchy.

11 [ἀπογρα]φέντα (WBH). Cf. **5444** 10.

<div align="right">M. LANGELLOTTI</div>

5451. Declaration of Sheep

27 3B.42/H(6)c   5.3 × 5.5 cm   *c.* 121

The top of a declaration of sheep addressed to a *praktor*. The number of animals declared in the previous year and the number of animals registered for the current year are not preserved.

```
        πράκτορι
        παρὰ Τϲενηρακλείαϲ
        Παεῖτοϲ μητρὸϲ Τϲεν-
        ηρακλείαϲ μετὰ
   5    κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸϲ Παεῖ-
        τοϲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπικράτουϲ
        [ἐποικ(ίου)]. τῷ διελθόν-
        [τι ἔτει ἀ]πεγραψά-
        [μην   c. 6   ] . . . [
            .    .    .    .
```

'To the *praktor*, from Tseneracleia daughter of Paeis, her mother being Tseneracleia, with her father Paeis as guardian, from the hamlet Epicratous. In the past year, I registered …'

6–7 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπικράτουϲ [ἐποικ(ίου)]. This hamlet is new. A *kleros* of the same name is associated with the village of Schoibis in the Eastern toparchy in XLII **3047** 24 (245); cf. also P. Pintaudi 20.36 (Oxy.; II/I BC). P. Ryl. II 206.8 (late III) attests a place called Ἐπικράτου in the Hermopolite nome, 'sans doute ἐποίκιον' according to M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite* (1979) 99, but it cannot be identified with a hamlet in the Eastern toparchy (AB).

<div align="right">M. LANGELLOTTI</div>

5452. Declaration of Sheep and Goats

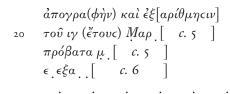33 4B.83/B(3–8)b   6.6 × 14.3 cm   129/30

The opening of a declaration addressed to an unnamed village scribe. Village scribes do not appear elsewhere in documents of this kind. The papyrus is composed of two contiguous fragments. The lower part is significantly damaged and marred by a number of ink blots.

The present document appears to be a corrected version of the previous year's declaration, as Dr Henry observes. Since each declaration begins by indicating how many animals were declared the year before, we are able to track the growth of the declarant's flock over a period of three years. In 127/128, Plutarche had declared 91 full-grown sheep, a goat, and five lambs, and in the following year, she declared the same animals (now 96 full-grown sheep and a goat) along with two lambs (6–9). In the document as it stands, she again declares the same animals (now 98 full-grown sheep and a goat), along with two lambs (9–14). However, some fragmentary lines near the foot of the papyrus (18–21) indicate that she had sold some animals in the period following the previous declaration. It is not clear how this is to be reconciled with the clear statement in the earlier part of the document (9–12) that she is declaring again all the animals that she had declared in the previous year. One may suspect that the text is a draft (cf. **5434**). P. Princ. II 28 (Oxy.?; 219) offers a similarly confused picture, with numerous corrections: cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 135.

κωμογρα(μματεῖ)
παρὰ Πλουτάρχης Ὥρου
μ̣ετὰ κυρίου τοῦ ἀνδ(ρὸс)
Τοτοέωс Πλουτ( ) τῶν
5   ἀ̣πὸ Ψώβθεωс κάτω.
[ἀ̣]πεγρα(ψάμην) τῷ διελ(θόντι) ἔτει ἐπὶ
κώμης Ψώβθεωс
π̣ρόβ(ατα) ϙ[α̣]ϛ, αἶγ(α) α, ἄρν(ας) β,
[(γίνονται)] πρόβ(ατα) ϙ[ϛ̣]η, αἲξ ᾱ, ἃ καὶ
10   ἀ̣πογρά(φομαι) εἰс τὸ ἐνεст(ὸс)
ι[γ]δ̣ (ἔτοс) Ἀδριανοῦ Καίсαροс
τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοὺс
ἐπακολουθ(οῦντας) ἀπὸ γο(νῆс)
[ἄρν(ας)] β, ἃ νεμήсετα[ι]
15   π̣ε̣ρὶ τὴν α(ὐτὴν) κώμ(ην) καὶ
δι' ὅλ(ου) τοῦ νομ[οῦ διὰ νο]μ̣(έωс)
Ψοсναῦτο[с   c. 5   ]
π̣έπρακα̣ μ[ετὰ τὴν]

ἀπογρα(φὴν) καὶ ἐξ[αρίθμηϲιν]

20   τοῦ ιγ (ἔτουϲ) Μ̣αρ̣.[*c.* 5   ]

πρόβατα μ̣.[*c.* 5   ]

ε̣.εξα..[*c.* 6   ]

.   .   .   .   .   .

1 κωμογρ$\overset{α}{ρ}$ 3 αν^δ 4 πλουτ (no sign of abbreviation)   6]π̣εγρ$\overset{α}{ρ}$, διε^λ 8, 9 π̣ρο^β
8 αι^γ, αρ^ν (α corr.), final β corr. from ε   10, 19 απογρ$\overset{α}{ρ}$ 10 ενεϲ^τ 11, 20 ∫   12 υ of
first τ̣ου corr.   13 επακολου^θ, Ῑο   15 ᾱκ$\overset{μ}{ω}$ 16 διο^λ,]^μ

'To the village scribe from Plutarche daughter of Horus, with her husband Totoeus son of Plut— as guardian, from lower Psobthis. I registered in the past year at the village of Psobthis 96 sheep, 1 goat, 2 lambs, total 98 sheep, 1 goat, which I register for the current 14th year of Hadrian Caesar the lord, and the 2 lambs following from birth, which will graze around the same village and throughout the whole nome, the shepherd being Psosnaus … I sold after the registration and census of the 13th year to Mar— … sheep …'

5 Ψώβθεωϲ κάτω. Another declaration of sheep from this village is SB XVI 12760 (23 or 25).

12–14 τοὺϲ ἐπακολουθ(οῦνταϲ) ἀπὸ γο(νῆϲ) [ἄρν(αϲ)] β. See **5443** 19 n.

17 Following Ψοϲναυτο[ϲ, perhaps λαογρ(αφουμένου), as in P. Köln II 86.18 (Oxy.; 99): cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 70 (1987) 135–6 with 135 n. 8; LXXI **4822** 10 n.

18–21 This clause, perhaps added here in asyndeton (cf. 17 n.), would have been expected to follow the statement concerning the previous year's declaration (6–9), introduced by ἐξ ὧν. The numbers given in the earlier part of the document do not take any sale into account. For references to sales in such declarations, see **5445** 6 n.

18–19 μ[ετὰ τὴν] ἀπογρα(φὴν) καὶ ἐξ[αρίθμηϲιν] is paralleled by P. Princ. II 28.6–c (Oxy.?; 219) ἐξ ὧν διεφθ(άρη) ˋμετ' ἀ´πογρ(αφὴν) καὶ ἐξαρίθ(μηϲιν) (Benaissa; ἀπογρ(άψαϲθαι) καὶ ἐξαριθ(μήϲαϲθαι) ed. pr.). On ἐξαρίθμηϲιϲ, see Langellotti, *L'allevamento* 14–18.

M. LANGELLOTTI